FBIS DAILY REPORT

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Vol II No 217 *8 November 1983*

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POLITIKA VIEWS ECONOMIC REFORMS IN EAST BLOC

AU032058 Belgrade POLITKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 83 p 4

[Permanent correspondent Slavoljub Djukic report]

[Text] Prague, 30 Oct -- A new question has arisen among economists who follow the developments in the East: Will the tension between the two blocs which, by the way, the "socialist community's" press describe rather drastically, slowdown the initiated economic reforms? Or will it perhaps speed them up this time? How should one understand the need, which was noticeably stressed at the CEMA meeting in Berlin, for a greater grouping of the economies of that region, as a reply to the "policy of discrimination and dictate by Washington and its allies?"

These questions rest on past experiences -- that political conflicts, of international or national proportions, have always influenced the economic policy in the socialist countries of the East. It is recalled that the first more free deliberations about new roads of economies began on the eve of the "Hungarian Events" in 1956, after which this topic was put to rest for some 10 years. Similar things happened in Czechoslovakia (1968) and in Poland (1970 and 1980) with broader reactions in the "socialist community." In the Soviet Union 15 years ago, the term "economic reform" was used, while the press carried the ideas of the leading Czechoslovak economists. The later developments have postponed and slowed the talk about new economic measures.

Unguarded and Hasty Statements

It could be said that in this respect a pattern exists. Economic reforms also encourage changes in social relations. However, whenever the foundations of the sociopolitical system were touched, disputes arose, sometimes with drastic consequences (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland). Likewise, open political disputes halted the economic reform, but -- and this is a paradox or a logical course of development -- the same issues were again quickly put on the agenda, but in a different form.

It is from this "real situation" that economists ask two great questions: 1. Is a substantial economic reform possible without any social and political changes? 2. In which direction will the economy in the East develop if no changes are allowed in social relations?

It is not accidental that the very term -- economic reform -- is being avoided in the larger countries of the "socialist community." One prefers to say "improving the management of the economy." Instead of the term "reform," Bulgaria, for instance, decided in favor of the term: "Mechanism of the Eighth 5-Year Plan." And when it is said -- economic reform -- it is remarked, what one thinks of is less planning and more market mechanisms, or a search for solutions for greater effectiveness.

These orientations do not derive from political or tactical reasons but rather because certain "unguarded and hasty statements" were made. And for this reason what is involved here are not substantial economic reforms. Even in Hungary, where one went furthest, one approaches a change of practice with caution and as a long-lasting process. What appears to many people to have happened "yesterday" has already lasted a quarter of a century, since Janos Kadar assumed the party's leadership. This restraint has apparently paid off. It has paid off, among other things, also by the confidence which Hungary enjoys in the "socialist community," without which one gets into all kinds of trouble.

In the meantime, through the gradual changes in Hungary, for instance, the trade unions have gained a more important place, personal and collective initiatives have been made, a new electoral law was adopted which prescribes that there must be several candidates for each post, and the parliament's role has been increased. However, in this connection, Hungary's leading people warn that "changes cannot be transformed into a movement of political liberalization," although a political relaxation is noticeable.

If the "step by step" policy has been expressed to the greatest extent in Hungary, it is necessary to say at this point that the economic practice of the CEMA member-countries is frequently improperly generalized. Something new is really happening everywhere and the common aspiration is to use the economic potentials more effectively. However, the roads are different. In Bulgaria, for instance, the plan's role has been reduced to eight characteristics. The enterprise which fulfills certain demands can, if it wants, produce more, find buyers, and distribute income. In Romania, the new law (in effect since 1 September) gives the main place to rewards and punishment. The pay is called "compensation" and depends on the level of production. "Romanians will be able to receive unlimited incomes," Nicolae Ceausescu explained as the essence of the new law.

What Prevents Economic Reforms

In Czechoslovakia the main topic is the "Set of Measures," with which greater rights are transferred to enterprises, along with the retention of central management; in the GDR large combines have been created in which the directors have great rights, along with responsibilities.

Moves are being made in the Soviet Union which still do not jeopardize the power of central control, but a greater flexibility, business-minded attitude, and responsibility in the economy are encouraged by various measures.

Something is happening everywhere. No one comes to terms with the existing situation. It remains to be seen what the scope of changes in the national economies will be.

Polish economist Wlodzimierz Brus mentions in the Italian Communist Party weekly RINASCITA "at least three reasons" which prevent economic reforms in the East: fear that the reform should push the political system to a greater pluralism; pressures of the powerful administration, which does not want to give up its present positions; and difficulties in managing a reformed system which calls for patience and consistency.

Namely, in most CEMA member-countries the excessive central management of the economy is criticized and a decentralization is encouraged, but only to an extent that the present political system can accept. Economic laws are recognized, but the principles of planning and management are not touched. ("The advantages of the socialist planned economy are certain," Soviet Premier Nikolay Tikhonov said in Berlin.)

You Must Measure Seven Times Before Cutting Once

In these circumstances cautious changes can be expected in the CEMA member-countries, changes in which the market and the planned economy will be linked and in which a firm ideological control will be maintained so that "something unpleasant should not be repeated." It certainly will be of special importance to what extent the Soviet Union -- bearing in mind its influence and material potential -- will embark on economic changes.

The statement of Yuriy Andropov, who has introduced dynamism and freshness into the discussions on the economy's roads, is striking: "An economy of such proportions and complexity as ours must be particularly cautious. Here, as nowhere else, the saying applies: You have to measure seven times before cutting once."

Economists believe that a gradual approach which contains the idea -- you must measure seven times before cutting once -- suits the CEMA countries most. Hungarian economist Jozsef Bogner also speaks in this sense: "A gradual reform is the best way for introducing changes in a socialist society. If one does not act in this way contradictions accumulate which lead to explosions such as in 1956 in Hungary, in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and later in Poland."

Finally, will the cooling of relations between Washington and Moscow influence a slowing of economic changes? Economists claim that it is not possible to draw a parallel between the present situation and earlier events. Now, the approach to changes in the economy is more cautious. Also, difficulties are accumulating and a more effective economy -- this is understood -- is becoming the main front in the competition with the West in order to preserve an independent, autonomous position and to accept competition on the world market. Changes are inevitable: The question is in which direction and at which rate they will develop.

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES DISCUSS RELIGION, CHURCH

AU041521 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 83 p 6

[Report signed "J.R."]

[Text] A theoretical conference entitled "Religion and the Church in Socialist Society," was concluded in Mirki near Olsztyn.

Scores of representatives of various branches of the social sciences took part in the conference along with activists and writers who included 10 scholars from five socialist countries. Some 27 papers were delivered, and, regarding subject matter, a wide, varied discussion was carried out.

After the end of the discussions we turned to the Soviet representative of the conference's co-organizers, Eduard G. Filimonov, deputy director of the Institute of Atheistic Studies of the Academy of Social Studies of the CPSU Central Committee and holder of a PhD, for his opinion on the way the meeting in Miski went and its significance.

Our conference, E.G. Filimonov said, was called at a time when the Communists in our country are working to implement the resolutions adopted at this year's June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, while Polish communists are taking part in the implementation of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum. Both plenums have pointed to the need to stimulate the ideological activities of party organizations, as well as to improve their structure and their methods.

All this was responsible for the fact that it was very necessary and timely to organize our conference now. Participating in the conference work were scholars and party activists from Poland, the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Romania.

FERRY SERVICE TO AND FROM ITALY OPENS 7 NOV

AU072008 Rome ANSA in English 1945 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] (ANSA) -- Trieste, November 7 -- After forty years, commercial sea links between Italy and Albania have been resumed. A ferry service between the Italian port city of Trieste, on the Adriatic, and the Albanian port of Durres began today with the departure here of the 5300-ton "Ocepolo," belonging to the [word indistinct] shipping company. The "Ocepolo" will leave the Italian port every 7th, 17th and 27th of the month and head back from the Albanian port every 8th, 18th and 28th of the month. The ferry service went into effect in accordance with an economic accord recently signed by the two countries. The Italian ship left today with a cargo of "TIR" trucks and other material.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON ALIA'S TOUR OF SOUTH

Visits Greek Minority Area

AU041525 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 4 Nov 83

["Comrade Ramiz Alia Continues his Visits in Gjirokaster District" -- ATA headline]

[Excerpts] Tirana, November 4 (ATA) -- yesterday before noon, the secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Conrade Ramiz Alia, accompanied by the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Muho Asllani; the member of the Central Committee of the party Pirro Kondi; the president of the state planning commision Harilla Papajorgji; and the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj paid a visit to leather-shoe factory.

The former workshop which had only 30 workers, has become today a great industrial center with some hundreds of workers. The workers of the factory, veterans and young men and women, burst out in enthusiastic acclamations when Comrade Ramiz Alia arrives.

The students and pedagogues of the higher pedagogical institute welcomed yesterday Comrade Ramiz Alia at their institute with powerful acclamations for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

During this visit Comrade Ramiz Alia met also with cadres of the secondary pedagogical school, which trains teachers for the Greek language, who will work in the schools of the minority. He asked them of the programs of this school and adviced that they should be strengthened especially in the subjects of history, literature and the Greek language, the works of the renouned authors of the Greek classic literature should be read in their original.

Thousands of people from the villages of Dropulli i Siperm, from Dropulli i Poshtem and the region of Pogon, expressing their profound gratitude for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, gathered at the center of the "Lesh Pal Cupi" agricultural cooperative of Vrisera to welcome Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades accompanying him.

A big rally was organised in the square of the village Vrisera. Amidst the great joy of the Dropulli people, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. He said among others: I am very glad to have been given the chance to be amongst you, the progressive and freedom-loving people of Dropulli, who at the first appeal of the party and under its leadership, united like a single body with the people of Gjirokaster and the entire Albania, fought heroically and did not spare their blood and toil for the liberation of the country from the fascist occupiers, for the triumph of the people's revolution and the construction of the new life, in our common homeland, Socialist Albania.

We still recall those deep impressions and emotions that Comrade Enver Hoxha's unforgettable meeting with you in Grapsh left on us. It was so a warm sincere and fraternal meeting, a cheek by jowl talk with the people, a meeting which will be written in history. His words were sincere and your words expressed gratitude for the party, which transformed the life in Dropulli.

The present Dropull, said Comrade Ramiz Alia further on, is a clear avidence of the great political, economic, ideological, educational and social transformations that have taken place in all the Greek minority, just like throughout the country.

In the minority, just like across Albania, under the leadership of the party and under the continuous care of the people's power, great socialist transformations ahve taken place in economy, education, culture, in the social life. The line of the party on the problem of the national minority has always been a correct and consistent one, both during the National Liberation War and during the construction of socialism. Due to this, it has met with an unanimous support of the minority population.

Our party and people's power have guaranteed to the Greek minority all the political and social rights, progress and complete freedom for their mother tongue, for the opening of schools, the participation in all the organs of the party and power, beginning with the grass-roots up to the Central Committee of the party and in the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, the participation in the military commands, the forums of the mass organisations and in all the party, political, ideological, social, economic activities. There is no restriction, no discrimination, no differentiation between the minority population and the Albanians.

In struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the common homeland, our Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, the fraternity of the minority population with the Albanian people is further steeled. Just like in the trenches of war, today too Albanians and minority are side by side with one another in the trenches of the construction of socialism. Ilesh Pali laid his life on the front of work in Dropull, Ilia Qiqi gave his life on the front of work in Mat.

Which is the source of the transformations and successes scored in the minority? What do they testify to? All these have their source in the correct leadership of the party and the implementation of the teachings and instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the minority. They show that the Greek minority in Albania, effectively, and by law enjoy equal rights in all directions, with the fraternal Albanian people. This proves incontestably that the problem of the national minorities can be solved correctly and completely by implementing the internationalist principles of Marxism-Leninism, only after the triumph of the socialist order, in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, just like it has been realised in the PSR of Albania.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that the constant strengthening of the defence capacity of the country is a problem for the entire people and a duty above all the duties.

In conclusion Comrade Ramiz Alia said: Socialist Albania, under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head marches forward resolutely. All the assets of the country are put in the service of the construction of socialism, the defence of the homeland and the elevation of the material and cultural well-being of the people, who look forward optimistically and surely to their even happier future.

The speech was listened to with attention and was frequently punctuated by enthusiastic cheers "Party -- Enver -- we are always ready."

After the meting Comrade Ramiz Alia had a talk with cadres of the economy, organs of the state and mass organisations of the cooperative. He was informed of the work done and the achievements in the agricutural production.

The Dropull people saw off with enthusiasm Comrade Ramiz Alia and said to him: "The best regards to Comrade Enver and say to him that the people of the minority will be always closely united round the party, always vigilant, mobilised as never before to translate into life all the tasks, in order to fourish and make our life even more prosperous."

Yesterday afternoon, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with cadres of the party, power, economy, mass organisations and the army of the district of Gjirokaster.

Taking the floor at this meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that the Gjirokaster district has attained satisfactory results in the production of bread grains.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia underlined that everything in our socialist state is planned, not to be preserved, but to be invested somewhere and the exploitation of every material potential is one of the demands of the economic laws of socialism. The fact that the tasks were realised despite the restrictions of electric power because of the extraordinary drought, shows of our great possibilities and reserves. Dwelling on the further increase of the leading role of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed that the communists and cadres must everywhere and always in the van. In our work, he continued further on, with our socialist reality, we must form the conviction that only through uninterrupted and careful work we will attain the desirable results.

In the end of his speech Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the people and party organisation of Gjirokaster district, which is in van of the work to fulfill the tasks and expressed his conviction that fresh successes and victories will be also attained in the future.

Continues Tour

AU051329 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 5 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Tirana, November 5 ATA -- The secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, accompanied by the member of the political burea of the Central Committee of the party, Muho Asllani the member of the Central Committee of the party, Pirro Kondi; the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Harilla Papajorgji; and the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, left the district of Gjirokaster yesterday before noon.

At Qafa of Muzine, where the two neighbouring districts, that of Gjirokaster and that of Sarande meet, Comrade Ramiz Alia was received by the first secretary of the party committee of Sarande District Qemal Bregasi and the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's councils, Stefan Qirjako.

Thousands of inhabitants of the beautiful coastal city of Sarande as well as cooperativists who had come from different zones of the district had filled the "1 May" boulevard lying at the seashore.

Comrade Ramiz Alia arrives amidst this festive atmosphere and the happy people. Acclamations for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha break out.

A grand popular rally was organized in the main square of the city. Amidst the great revolutionary enthusiasm, the floor was taken by Comrade Ramiz Alia, who greeted on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and in the name of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally.

The speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia was followed with attention and was often punctuated by powerful acclamations.

Yesterday was a day of celebration for the inhabitants of the nine villages of the agricultural cooperative, which bears the name of the son of minority, the people's hero, Lefter Talo. With great joy in their hearts, with profound gratitude for the party and the beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the people of minority received enthusiastically Comrade Ramiz Alia and the comrades accompanying him.

The chairman of the cooperative of Livadhja, Ilia Kallajxhiu informs of the sound moral-political spirit of the people of this zone, of the great tranformations and the successes scored under the people's power in all the fields of life.

Comrade Ramiz Alia conveyed to them the greetings of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. All the Albanian people, he stressed, are linked like flesh to bone with the party and our dear leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. We found here, we saw in Saranda and everywhere this great love, these steel links.

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the cooperativists for the successes attained. When we speak optimistically of the perspective and say that we are sure of the future, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, we show a reality that is based on the vigorous development of the economy on the powerful material base, on our people, on this precious fund of the country. The force of socialism, of the party lies in the people. We have an industrious and valiant people, resolute to march towards fresh victories. The people and party are like a steel fist.

The talk with Comrade Ramiz Alia was attentively followed.

The minority people saw off with love Comrade Ramiz Alia and solemly pledged: "We shall always be loyal to the party; vigilant and always ready, we shall work even more to further prosper our socialist homeland."

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades attended the concert of the folk and professional groups of Sarande District given in Butrinti" cine-theatre last night.

Addresses Sarande Rally

AU051330 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 5 Nov 83

["From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia at the Rally in Sarande" -- ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 5 ATA -- Right from the start I want to thank you for the warm and enthusiastic welcome which is an expressin of your great love for our heroic party, for Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Allow me, in the name of the Central Committee of the party and our beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, in the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers, to greet wholeheartedly all of you who attend this rally and through you all the industrious and patriotic people of Sarande.

When one comes in your Sarande, he is taken aback by its natural beauties. But one feels even more pleased when he sees all these transformations of the nature, made by your minds and hands.

Now, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, Sarande has been transformed into a flourished town with 12,000 inhabitants, with a growing working class, with many schools and hospitals, a town with an intensive life due to its young citizens. In regard to the countryside in Sarande District, the transformations are so big and they bear no comparison with the past. Suffice to mention the land reclamation, which brought not only big progress in agriculture, but it has led to the rejuvenation of the population of this district.

Once the river Bistrica brought only calamities for the inhabitants of the Vurgu Plain. But how is Vurgu today? You are filled with joy and pride when you see these fertile and flourished fields, reclaimed and perfectly irrigated. The Bistrica River became useful. The people's power passed its waters in the tunnel, in the Krongj Mountain, in the turbines of the "Stalin" hydro-power station; it reclaimed the Vurgu Plain, constructed the big irrigation channel, thus producing electric power from it and making this water a source of prosperity.

As a result of the untiring work of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and all the working people of Sarande, everywhere in your district the new life flourishes, in the rejuvenated Vurg, in Konispol, and Vrina, in Vergo and in the mountainous Partisan.

The results Sarande is scoring in many agricultural products, he said further on, are ranking it in the van of the advanced districts.

After speaking on some of the high results attained by the working people of agriculture of that district, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on:

The party takes care that the standard of living of the people, the workers, peasants, all the working people, elevates. The growth of income, the elevation of the well-being have their basis on production. The more is produced, the higher the yields in agricultural products and labour productivity in industry, the more the income for the society and individual increase.

The working class of your district claims distinction for its zeal at work, technical discipline and spirit of progress. There is no doubt that it will continue to work with mobilisation, with discipline and high feeling of responsibility for the fulfilment of the important tasks foreseen in the state plan.

Sarande, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, is distinguished for its ancient traditions and successes in the field of culture and education. Hasan Tahsini, the first rector of the University of Istanbul, one of the most encyclopedic and educated man of his century, lived here. Muhamet Kucuku, who wrote the well-known patriotic poem "Ervehe", was born and got inspiration here. Above all, Naim Frasheri, the nightingale of the Albanian language worked here for several years. Known were in the previous centuries the libraries of Delvine, Kakomea and Pandelejmon, which were destroyed by the occupiers and the Zog regime.

It is a special pleasure for me to admit here that the district of Sarande forging ahead on this tradition of the culture and love for book has become for some years now one of the first districts on a republic scale that reads and utilizes more books. At the same time Sarande holds the first place on a republic scale as to the high percentage of the pupils of the city and countryside who attend the secondary school. The party has stressed that the progress of culture is also the progress of the nation, and we observe this progress in your district in all the directions.

The people of Sarande District are distinguished for their steel unity round the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on. The Albanian people and the Greek minority live and work here in ancient traditional friendship.

Socialist Albania, as the sole country in the world that has solved correctly many problems, is also the only country in the world which sets a brilliant example in regard to the solution of the problem of the minority as well.

The Greek minority enjoys in practice daily their rights, which are guaranteed to them by the Party of Labour with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, on equal footing and without any discrimination just like all the Albanian people. This unity has its source in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in the line of our party, in the life-giving teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Just as the district of Sarande has advanced, our entire country has developed, too, said Comrade Ramiz Alia further on. We have a sound situation, a stable economy, a clear perspective. Our people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is stronger than ever. Our multi-branch economy is meeting ever better the increasing needs of the people and of the development of the country. The socialist art and culture are constantly developing on the correct road, according to the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Our socialist reality shows clearly that the reliance on our own forces, on the creative work of the people, on the technical-professional abilities of our people, on the country's assets and our internal resources has been and remains the fundamental factor for the fast rate and all-round development of our country.

It is well known that Albania is the only country in the world which owes no debt to anyone, which does not receive aids and credits from the capitalist and revisionist countries, that are nothing in themselves but chains for the peoples. Unemployment, inflation, the galloping price rise are permanent wounds of the borgeois and revisionist society, whereas there are 40 years now that Socialist Albania does not experience these catastrophic consequences of the general world crisis. Our reality proves clearly the vitality and superiority of socialism over the bourgeois-revisionist order. No comparison can be made between our progress and the lurch in which the capitalist and revisionist countries have been plunged.

The victories we have scored in all the fields are the outcome of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, of the steel-like unity of the party and the people round the party. This unity is unbreakable because our people have seen and see in life the correctness of the line of the party, because everything the party has decided has been for the good of the working people, for the good of our socialist homeland.

Speaking of some problems of the international situation, Comrade Ramiz Alia said among others that American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are the most dangerous enemies of the freedom of the peoples and peace in the world. Their aggressive policy for hegemony and world domination has deteriorated even more than the international situation over these recent years, has made it more explosive, has increased the tensions, fanned up the hotbeds and has stirred up local conflicts.

The superpowers try to cover up their war preparations through an unprecedented demagogy, allegedly, through the preservation of peace in the world, the staging of the ceaseless and empty talks on disarmament, through the organisation of the fraudulent conferences of reducing tension, as that of Helsinki and Madrid, which ended in a fiasco, etc. But the peoples and the progressive forces of the world are not decieved by these tales. That is why, they intensify their resistence and struggle against the militarist and adventurous course, which characterizes today more than ever the foreign policy of these two superpowers.

The foreign policy of our country, he said further on, is an active, principled policy, the policy of a socialist state that expresses openly and sincerely its opinion. This policy serves the cause of freedom and independence of the homeland and the successsful construction of socialism in our country. It supports the liberation struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the proletariat to topple the capitalist yoke, the popular movements to preserve and strengthen peace in the world, their struggle against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all the other reactionary sorces.

On the basis of the principle of equality, of non-interference in the internal affairs, of repsecting the sovereignty and of the mutual profit, our country has normal diplomatic relations with nearly 100 states and develops trade with the majority of them.

We make all-out efforts so that the peoples of Balkans live in permanent friendship, so that the foreign forces, the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, are not allowed to use our peninsula as a place d'armes for their aggressive aims.

We want to have good relations with all the neighbours, with Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey because this is in the interest of our peoples, of their development and progress. On our part, we will work that these relations contribute to the understanding and serve the strengthening of the friendship between peoples of our peninsula.

Our people celebrated these days the 75th anniversary of the birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This event is a great joy for all of us, because Comrade Enver Hoxha is the most beloved son of our people, the most beloved man of our hearts, the leader and teacher of the party and the entire Albanian people.

That is why the entire people, the working class, cooperativist peasantry, people's intelligentsia, young men and women, young and aged, all the Albanians wherever they are, wished wholeheartedly health and long life to Comrade Enver Hoxha for the good of the party and the happiness of our men.

Let this anniversary inspire us for new and ever greater victories in order to realise all the tasks of this year and to begin well the year of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland.

Continues in Sarande District

AU061425 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 6 Nov 83

[Text] Tirana, November 6 (ATA) -- Yesterday before noon, in continuation of the visit in the Sarande District, the secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Ramiz Alia, accompanied by the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Muho Asllani; the member of the Central Committee of the party Pierro Kondi; the president of the state planning commission Harilla Papajorgji; and the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj went to the city of Delvina.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was welcomed by the secretary of the district party committee Halim Pashuni; the secretary of the party committee of the city of Delivina Luan Bazaiti; the chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of the city Pandeli Zhupa; etc.

Comrade Ramiz Alia meets cordially with workers, cooperativists, veterans, young men and women.

Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the historic museum of the city, where through numerous materials, documents and objects are reflected the ancient patriotic and militant traditions of the people of that area as well as the activity of the outstanding figures of the history. A prominent place is held by the documents which reflect the period of the anti-Fascist National Liberation War, led by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In one of the halls of "Nazif Haderi" kino-theater, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a talk with cadres of the city and the agricultural economies.

Taking the floor at this warm and comradely talk, Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted them of the successes they have achieved.

In Delvina, Comrade Ramiz Alia visited the secondary agricultural school, named after the renowned patriot Namik Delvina.

At the square of the school he was welcomed with enthusiasm by the pupils and teachers, who cheered for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. After having met and greeted cordially with them, Comrade RAmiz Alia visited the museum of the school.

In one of the class rooms of the schools Comrade Ramiz Alia had a warm talk with the teachers and several pupils.

Your school, he said, is known and has made a great contribution for the training of the cadres of agriculture. Likewise, it has made its contribution for the correct implementation of the educational reform, the directives of the party and the instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha given in his March 1968 speech for the combination in the best way of theory with practice and the connection of education with life, creating the ideological axis.

The inhabitants of Vrina area and Konisopl gathered yesterday in Mursi village and powerfully acclaimed for the party and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha when Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades accompanying him arrived there.

He was welcomed by the secretary of the district party committee Vito Muca; the vice-chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, Fatmir Kucuku; the secretary of the party bureau of the agricultural enterprise of Vrina, Panajot Zoto; and others.

Comrade Ramiz Alia meets with love with aged people, men and women, young men and women, young pioneers.

A cordial talk was held at the centre of the village.

Taking the floor Comrade Ramiz Alia siad: I bring to all the inhabitants of the villages of the Vrina agricultural enterprise and the cooperative of Konispol, the cordial greetings of the Central Committee of the party and our beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxhi. We feel special joy when we are amonst you, working people of the Vrina agricultural enterprise, who claim distrinction of the progress and successes in agricultural production, bread grains, sunflower and live-stock products. You, he stressed, turned into reality the instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha wehn he came in Sarande District in 1978 about the need of the further deepening in the understanding of science and technique, not only by the higher and secondary cadres, but also by the whole working masses. Your experience and that of the most advanced economies of the country shows that by implementing the achievements of science, by mastering the modern technology, you achieved very good results.

Your achievements, he continued, are the outcome of the great care of the party, the colossal investments made by the state in this area. They bear the seal of the work you have done and the seat you have shed for year on end for the scientific treatment of land, for its systematisation, etc.

After having spoken of some problems of the present-day international situation, Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed in conclusion the conviction that the Vrina agricultural enterprise and the cooperative of Konispol will score greater successes, because the conditions and the rich experienc e exist.

The people of the rea of Vrina and Konispol saw off with love Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades accompanying him.

Yesterday afternoon, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with leading cadres of the Sarande District.

After having been informed of some leading cadres of the district, Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted the people and the party organisation of the Sarande District for the successes they have achieved, which owe first of all to the correct line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The results recorded in particular during the recent years in the Sarande District and throughout the country, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, are the outcome of a constant accumulation, about which our party has alwlays made investments in all the fields.

These achievements show that now we have a powerful human and material basis, have numerous reserves to score other new, greater victories.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that we must understand and implement correctly the instruction of the party to live up to the situation. For this reason we must follow the development of the events in the world and draw our political, ideological tasks for the strengthening of our country.

In conclusion Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed the conviction that the party organisation of the Sarande District, all its levels and leading cadres, have the possibility to carry further the successes achieved by exploiting all the reserves and possibilities which exist.

On the occasion of the visit of Comrade Ramiz Alia to the Sarande District, the party committee and the executive committee of the district people's council gave a dinner last night, which passed in a very joyful atmosphere.

Concludes Tour

AU071625 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Tirana, November 7 (ATA) -- The secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Ramiz Alia accompanied by the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Muho Asllani; the member of the Central Committee of the party Pirro Kondi; the president of the state planning commission Harrilla Papajorgji; and the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj wound up his visit and left the Sarande District yesterday.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the comrades accompanying him visited yesterday the agricultural enterprise of Lukova. Hundreds of workers, men and women, aged and young cooperativists from Borsh had been gathered there. They welcomed Comrade Ramiz Alia with enthusiastic cheers. A warm talk was held at the centre of the village.

The visits of Comrade Ramiz Alia to the districts of Tepelene, Gjirokaster and Sarande, his meetings with workers, cooperativists, communists and cadres were an expression of the steel-like unity round the party, and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. They exchanged further the enthusiasm and the mobilisation of the working people to realise and overfulfill the tasks in all the fields of socialist construction and the defence of the country, in implementation of the directives of the party and the teachings of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

ZHIVKOV AT GOSR ANNIVERSARY SOFIA DEMONSTRATION

AU071917 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, Nov 7 (BTA) -- Today the whole Bulgarian people are solemnly celebrating the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR]. The participants in the capital's demonstration were greeted by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, by party, state and economic leaders.

On this day working Bulgaria is demonstrating her desire to continue to march in future shoulder to shoulder with the great Soviet country on the road of socialism and communism. The demonstrators were carrying slogans like "Ardent Greetings to the CC of the CPSU", "We Stand for Peace on the Planet", "We Back Up Unreservedly the Latest Soviet Peace Initiatives", "The USSR -- A True Guardian of Peace", "The U.S. Nuclear Missiles Out of Europe", "The USSR-Bulgaria -- All-Round Cooperation and Integration".

Soviet Embassy Reception

AU071918 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception on 7 November, on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The following persons came to the Soviet Embassy: Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, and Tsola Dragoycheva; BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate members; BCP Central Committee secretaries; deputy chairmen of the State Council and the Council of Ministers; members of the State Council; members of the Bulgarian Agro-Industrial Union Permanent Board; BCP Central Committee department heads; ministers; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; leaders of mass-political and public organizations; figures from the spheres of arts, culture, and science; and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. Chiefs and members of foreign missions accredited in Sofia also attended the reception.

BOZHINOV RETURNS FROM HUNGARY 5 NOVEMBER

AU051902 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Nov 83

[Text] Comrade Todor Bozhinov has paid a friendly visit to Hungary where he participated in the celebrations in connection with the commissioning of the first Hungarian nuclear station (Daksh). He met with Gyorgy Azel, Politburo member and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Lajos Mehes, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and minister of industry; Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and other Hungarian leaders with whom he had talks on further expanding cooperation between the two fraternal countries. Comrade Todor Bozhinov returned home today.

RUDE PRAVO ADDRESSES DOUBTS ON MISSILE SITING

AU071505 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Nov 83 p 3

[Jarmila Houfova article under the rubric "Where is Truth?": "Is War Predestined?"]

[Text] I have a pile of letters before me -- both signed and unsigned, some that agree and some that disagree. They all concern the same topic: war and peace. In most of them one can read between the lines the resolve to do everything to defend peace. But in some one can sense the doubt whether the recently announced measures for the strengthening of defense "are necessary already today"; whether "one should not have waited for the deployment of Pershings to take place"; or the question of "what the peace defenders in the West will say to this", and "who in fact started this"; and so forth. Some of the letters also contain sincere expressions of "fear for the future," the question whether "there actually exists a force that would check the aggressive, assertive U.S. policy," and so forth. Let us try and ponder some of these questions.

We are living in a world which is chock-full of all kinds of arms. More than $1,300,000 are being spent every minute on the production of armaments. The French bourgeois paper LE MONDE wrote on 6 October: In its yearbook for 1983 the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute confirmed that, with its current reserves, which amount to 9,000 megatons, the United States has been adding to its arsenal arms equal to the Hiroshima bomb every 30 minutes since the end of the last world war -- day and night, 7 days a week, throughout the past 38 years.

Why is this? Where are the embraces of Soviet and American soldiers, of the war allies during their meeting on the Elbe -- to recall at least symbolically the atmosphere toward the end of the World War II. I cannot squeeze the history of almost 40 years into a few lines; but perhaps the facts to which I will limit myself will speak for themselves. After President Roosevelt's death, the U.S. ruling circles began to practice a policy of withdrawing from the loyal and mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union. The most reactionary forces were dazed by the mirage of having a nuclear monopoly, and set themselves the goal of acquiring world hegemony. Let us recall the statement made by Harry Truman in 1945: "Winning victory has burdened our people with a constant responsibility for managing the world."

Today we can hear variations of such statements every day. The view that it is predestined to be world ruler is inculcated in the American ruling class, as is the view that it is the United States that had the right to teach all and sundry a lesson, be it even by military actions. Yes, they intend to acquire hegemony by using arms. That is also why they are causing the armament spiral. In order to calm their own public and win allies in the NATO countries, that means primarily in Western Europe, which they have turned into their hostage and which is meant to be their cat's paw, they are coming out with various doctrines, including the one about a modern "crusade" against communism, against the so-called Soviet threat. American President Reagan makes no secret of his wish to sweep communism off the face of the map since it is -- allegedly -- an error of history.

Who is threatening whom, who is driving the world into crazy armament?

Facts prove that the Soviet Union never was the initiator of the research, development, production, and deployment of new kinds of weapons. It was always subsequently that it replied to the West's armament steps. This is outlined by a survey of those years in which the individual weapons were included in the arsenals.

The nuclear bomb was brought into the world by the Americans in 1945; the Soviet Union liquidated their monopoly only 4 years later. In 1948 the Americans came out with strategic bombers; the Soviet bombers followed suit only in 1954-55. The Americans had atomic submarines armed with ballistic missiles in 1960; the Soviet ones appeared 8 years later. The Americans have had multipurpose aircraft carriers since 1960 -- the Soviet Navy has no such thing at its disposal; the Americans have had multiple independably targetable nuclear warheads since 1964, whereas the Soviet Union has had them only since 1973; the Americans have had neutron arms since 1981, whereas the Soviet Union does not have them.

Then who is it that starts things, and who is forced to respond? The reader can draw his own conclusion. The accord between the CSSR and USSR Governments on starting preparatory work on deploying operational-tactical missile complexes on Czechoslovakia's territory is a measure they have been forced to adopt. The issue does not concern prestige, as some people might think -- you have missiles, so we will have missiles, too. We have here a vital issue that concerns us to the same degree as the people in the NATO countries, and people elsewhere in the world. The question is: Will peace be preserved, will we prevent a nuclear catastrophe?

Will we prevent it, if we and our entire socialist community let ourselves be weakened to such an extent that we become vulnerable in every direction and every place? Can one negotiate with somebody acting from positions of strength if one sticks one's head into the sand like an ostrich? The Soviet Union is not striving to achieve supremacy, it is concerned with acquiring an equilibrium of military force which -- even though this may sound like a paradox -- is nevertheless the main current guarantee of peace. This approximate equilibrium has already existed, at least up to the time when the United States began realizing its plans for deploying new missiles in Europe. However, the United States does not want an equilibrium; its entire postwar history proves this. Moreover, the present American Government is trying to negotiate with the Soviet Union and its allies from a position of strength, from a position of superiority. But he who is weak cannot expect the vulture to spare him. The infamy with which American troops attacked the tiny island of Grenada -- which is smaller than Prague -- is surely eloquent enough.

It would be unforgivable and highly irresponsible to passively watch the realization of American plans and to fail to ensure the common defense of the countries of the socialist community. The aggressor must know that he will meet with a resolute resistance in case of an aggression.

I have also encountered the following opinion:

"If we have missiles, we ourselves will become the target." But surely this is not so, surely we will not become targets. Because we certainly already are targets -- we have been targets since the very moment when, 35 years ago, the United States brought atomic arms to Europe. Moreover, is it not true that today, too, preparations for deploying first-strike missiles are underway in Great Britain, Italy, the FRG, and other countries of Europe? Some of the bases there are situated only a few dozen kilometers from our borders.

Another opinion: "What will the West European peace defenders say?" What will they say to what? Will they accuse us, in the way the militarist circles are striving to impress upon them, of not fighting against the missiles, whereas they are? But surely the entire policy pursued by our country is a policy aimed against any and all missiles -- against feverish armament! Surely it is the basic purpose of the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community to achieve the limitation and halting of armament and the realization of the policy of peaceful coexistence!

But this does not mean that politics may depart from reality. And the reality is that the United States and the NATO countries are feverishly arming and that they intend to acquire supremacy and to blackmail us with it. And we have already said that this must not be permitted.

People, particularly young people, ask: "What kind of prospects do we have now?" Or: "What will happen, what kind of life can we expect?" Had they asked this at the time when capitalism was the only social system, we would have had to share their pessimism. Wars used to be typical of this system, the individual imperialist countries used to resolve their conflicts and predatory longings both by aggression and by wars. But now? Such a powerful force as that represented by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community regards the policy of peaceful coexistence as its intrinsic policy, and is also pushing for it in all international forums. This is a completely new realistic force of an organized battle for peace. This is the determining guarantee that the warmongering forces of the world will be kept within their boundaries, and that they will lose interest in engaging in war adventures.

To start a nuclear war means to commit suicide. A sensible person would say: Surely in this case nobody will attempt it. Another person would say: "Then why talk about danger?" But in order that an aggressor refrain from attempting a war, he must be given to understand that no first strike will go unpunished, that it will be followed by retaliation.

We must never cease fighting against dangerous plans, even if we should think that it is unrealistic to start a war for the very reasons which we have mentioned here. But there is also another, no less serious, danger. Both technology and man may fail; and even an error might cause a terrible catastrophe. In view of the current arms, in view of the speed with which arms fly to their target, there would be no time to explain errors or false alarms. They say that 20 percent of the human population are psychopaths. Where is the guarantee that some of them, to speak symbolically, do not have their finger on the button for launching nuclear arms?

Today mankind is being objectively placed in the role of an active fighter for peace. It is no coincidence that the peace movement has experienced such an upsurge. It is one of the realistic facts that correspond to the existing reality. The warmakers will understandably strive to weaken and split this movement -- after all, they are doing this already. We must count on this, and we must strengthen all that unites us. We are united by our concern for mankind's future, for mankind's peaceful future, for a Europe of peace. Thus we can reply to the readers' question about "What will the West European peace fighters say if we, too, will have missiles?" As follows: They have known from the very beginning of their impressive, and often also heroic, fight -- those who had started to bring nuclear arms to Europe, and who has been promoting new armament rounds. They know that it is the United States who wants to turn our old continent into a battlefield. Our countermeasures are meant to check the attacker. Why should our friends, the advocates of peace in the West, fail to understand that the aggressor cannot be curbed by words?

We can be sure that missiles will not be set off from our countries other than in defense. We would prefer to be able to make better and more productive use of these results of human work, too; we would prefer if mankind would use the enormous means that are now being spent on armament for humane goals, and for resolving those problems of which the world has more than enough. But at present we have only two possibilities, and only one of them can lead to peace: We must perseveringly and purposefully fight all endeavors to unleash a nuclear war, and this also means that we must not passively look on, that we must not provide a potential enemy with any opportunity, but that we must do everything for the firm defense strength of our community.

The young generations should not wish to live through the pain and helplessness experienced by their grandfathers and fathers at the shameful time of Munich, when they had to surrender without fighting, when they had to watch defenseless how their homes were lost and their fatherland destroyed.

One cannot remain indifferent. In writing about such serious and fateful things, we do not want our people to become afraid or to succumb to skepticism. We merely want everybody to realize that everything must be done to defend our peaceful life; we want everybody to know that we also have the means to achieve this; and that the firmer, more united, and stronger the socialist community is, the firmer the peace prospects will be, and the more realistic our hope will be of averting a nuclear war. War is not predestined! Man has it in his power to prevent it!

JAKES RECEIVES CPSU ECONOMIC OFFICIAL

LD042248 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Boris Gostev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and the head of its economic department. During a friendly discussion they informed each other about the results achieved in the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress. They also concerned themselves with the further development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

DEFENSE MINISTER ORDER MARKING COSR ANNIVERSARY

LD042345 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, has issued an order to mark the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [COSR]. In it he recalled the special historic significance of the creation of the first workers' and peasants' state and the victorious path of the Soviet Union during the past 66 years which has fully proven the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist ideas and which has inspired the revolutionary forces the world over in their struggle against imperialism. He singled out the support and assistance given by the Soviet Union to our people in their efforts to carry out the general line of socialist construction. Now our working people are developing the revolutionary legacy of the COSR by way of their responsible attitude in implementing the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and through their political and working initiative in fulfilling the demanding tasks of buildin an advanced socialist society.

Minister Martin Dzur went on to point out the dangerous character of the development of world events in the past period as a result of increased aggressiveness of international imperialism and reactionary forces headed by the United States. Czechoslovakia, together with the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, is waging an active and purposeful struggle to avert the threat of a new war and, simultaneously with measures for peace, is doing everything necessary to ensure its security and to fulfill the commitments arising from the internationalist defense of socialism.

In honor of the 66th COSR anniversary, Minister Martin Dzur has given an order to fire 20 artillery salvoes on 6 November at 1900 in Prague and Bratislava.

SCIENTISTS PROTEST U.S. ARREST OF SCIENTIST

LD071752 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1651 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 7 Nov (ADN) -- On behalf of its 160,000 members the GDR Scientists Trade Union has called on the U.S. Administration to relase immediately the GDR scientist Professor Dr Alfred Zehe. In a protest statement the secretariat of the trade union's central executive protests very strongly against the illegal and slanderous arrest in the United States of the scientist from Dresden Technical University. With this arbitrary act, which contravenes all law, the Reagan Administration is adding a new link in the chain of its senseless drive against peace and socialism, peaceful coexistence and the exchange of science, which originates from blind anticommunist rage, the statement says. The GDR scientist was arrested in Boston where he was attending a physicists' congress.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND ON GREENS PRESS CONFERENCE

AU051615 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- After its meeting with Erich Honecker the delegation of the Greens from the FRG gave a press conference for domestic and foreign journalists in the International Press Center. Asked his view on the readiness of the Soviet Union to reduce the number of its missile launching pads in Europe below that of Great Britain and France, Gert Bastian declared that he thinks it a construtive proposal for Geneva. I hope, he said, that NATO -- and, above all, the United States, which is the negotiating partner there -- will examine this proposal and that an agreement will be achieved on this basis. Should this intermediate step be concluded, negotiations of all European nuclear powers must start with the purpose of finally eliminating this potential so that a nuclear-free Europe can be created. This is completely in accordance with what the Warsaw Pact wants.

Asked her view on the talk with Erich Honecker, Petra Kelly stressed that she considers it very important. Everything must be done to intensify the dialogue and make progress in order to find a path away from deterrence. During the press conference Bastian reported that Erich Honecker had given the delegation a number of ideas on securing peace. The delegation considers it a good thing that these ideas have been voiced again. It hopes that the answers from the West will be more positive and more constructive. The spokesman of the Greens reported that the question of dissolving blocs was discussed in the talks with the chairman of the State Council and that the participants had declared that this would constitute an element of political security. Erich Honecker said that the GDR is ready for this as long as both pacts are dissolved at the same time. Erich Honecker very emphatically stressed that the opportunities for detente have in no way been exhausted. The delegation was able to see how a positive relationship between the two German states can develop if one gives up the madness of the deployment of first-strike weapons.

FREE GERMAN YOUTH CONDEMN GRENADA INVASION

LD071514 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] At an FDJ meeting in Berlin today attended by the six FDJ friendship brigade members who were eyewitnesses to the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the cowardly attack on the Caribbean island was strongly condemned. Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, described the aggression as an example of the unpredictable nature of the present U.S. Administration's policy. The members of the friendship brigade expressed outrage about the event following their arrival this morning.

The devious murder of defenseless people with bombs and missiles from aircraft has deeply shocked them. Hans-Juerger Grober, a motor mechanic, stressed that U.S. imperialism must not be given the chance to do the same in Europe or unleash a nuclear war. No one can remain unaffected by Grenada.

PROTESTANT CHURCH BEGINS '10 DAYS OF PEACE'

DW080833 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 0715 GMT 6 Nov 83

[Christa Lehbeck commentary]

[Excerpts] Today, 6 November, marks the beginning of a 10-day period of peace for the protestant church in the GDR. Create peace from the strength of the weak -- this slogan of the 1983 10 Days of Peace relfects the experience, hope, and commitment of the Portestant Christians' work for peace. The international political outlook during these days in November is gloomy. Another round of nuclear arms buildup, including the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, seems to be a settled matter. The idea that as a consequence missiles are to be deployed in our country as well is alarming. Many people are pained by the apparent futility of their work for peace in word and deed. Still, the representatives of the two great powers are still gathered at the negotiating table in Geneva where new proposals have been submitted by the Soviet Union.

The synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR has assessed the present situation with all seriousness. With great urgency, it has warned against the deployment of new missiles. There is still time to reach a solution, according to the synod's resolution. We hope that the current period will be utilized for a successful conclusion of the Geneva negotiations. We would consider it a constructive contribution if the NATO states would increase the scope of their actions at the negotiations in Geneva to a point where a successful conclusion is possible and deployment in December 1983 avoided; we would also consider it a constructive construction if the USSR would begin now to put into practice its declared readiness to reduce and scrap the SS-20 intermediate-range missiles.

By expressly rejecting the spirit and the logic of deterrence, the Federation has countered the policy of strength, which entrusts the security of life to the overwhelming power of death. More weapons will not create more security. The 1983 10 Days of Peace will serve the aim, among other things, to provide a impetus to ponder the consequences of such a rejection. The synod said that it is clear even now that this must begin with the acknowledgement of how small our own peace capability is. It is important for our eyes to be opened to the need for peace and the peace capability of others. We harbor the hope that this might involve personal actions that will change our lives.

FDJ MEMBERS ON PROGRESS OF SOVIET PIPELINE

LD041832 East Berlin AND International Service in German 1318 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 4 Nov (ADN) -- To fight for socialism, to strengthen it and to defend it are among the priority concerns for young people, said Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, addressing 800 participants in a meeting of the FDJ central projects "Natural Gas Pipeline in the USSR" and "GDR Gas Pipeline" in Berlin today. On behalf of the SED Central Committee he expressed warm thanks for outstanding performances in completing these great projects ahead of schedule, which are of very great value for strengthening socialism, for the GDR economy and for its increasingly closer links with the potential of the Soviet Union.

Youth brigade leader Dietmar Anton reported on the youth project "Natural Gas Pipeline in the USSR". He said that thanks to the great efforts of the 9,500 workers in close cooperation with Soviet work-teams, the GDR section Urengoy-Uzhgorod of 137.5 kilometers has been completed ahead of schedule. Reporting for the "GDR gas pipeline", youth brigade leader Reinhard Zehmke said that after 20 months of work rich in initiative, this project, too, with its length of 949 kilometers, has been completed earlier than planned.

NORWAY'S STRAY ON TALKS WITH SED LEADERS

PM041403 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 2 Nov 83 p. 8

[Nils Morten Udgaard dispatch: "'Most Irritable' Stoph Met Stray in GDR"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin, 1 Nov -- "We met with no sympathy for the fact that we in Norway feel threatened by the Soviet missiles," Foreign Minister Stray said yesterday after lengthy talks with GDR State and Party Chief Erich Honecker and Prime Minister Willi Stoph. During the talks Stray described Moscow's missile program as "the biggest peacetime arms buildup in Soviet history." In East Berlin Stray also raised several Norwegian-German issues.

However, the main impression the Norwegians took home with them is that East Germany has a great desire for an expansion of contacts with the West and for continued missile negotiations -- but the GDR leaders were unwilling to answer the question of whether the missile negotiations would continue even if the West begins to deploy its new medium-range missiles in 3 weeks, as planned. The missiles were the only subject raised during the hour-long talks with Honecker, who in a balanced and calm manner advanced well-known East bloc views. However, Stoph was "most agitated," according to diplomatic sources, when, during a meeting lasting almost 1 and 1/2 hours, he attacked the West's policy. The criticism during Stray's visit has taken the form of one-sided attacks on the Americans -- "they are described as evil," Stray said. He made it very clear that people in Norway feel threatened by the weapons that have been sited in a circle around them -- Norway can also be reached by SS-20 missiles from bases in Asia. Stray stressed that "the enormous Soviet arms buildup in the seventies" took place without corresponding steps by NATO, which even undertook partial reductions. NATO also gave 4 years advance warning of its proposed countermeasures in the "two-track decision" of 1979 -- a decision which, if no agreement is reached in Geneva, will now only be implemented slowly over a period of 5 years. Stray told the East German leaders, as he later described it to the press, that a compromise in Geneva does not necessarily have to rule out a greater number of missiles on the Russian side. But it cannot mean zero missiles for the Americans and some for the Russians -- "this is unacceptable," he said. Stray called on the East to continue the Geneva negotiations even after the commencement of Western deployment, which he said would give a better psychological foundation for a compromise.

MINISTER ENDS KUWAIT VISIT; PROTOCOL SIGNED

LD062036 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1515 GMT 6 Nov 83

[Excerpt] Kuwait, 6 Nov (ADN) -- Wolfgang Junker, GDR construction minister, ended his several-day visit to Kuwait on Sunday. Earlier, during a further meeting between the chairmen of the GDR-Kuwait Joint Committee for Economic, Technical and Cultural Cooperation -- Wolfgang Junker and Jasim Khalid al-Marzuq, Kuwaiti minister of commerce and industry -- a protocol was signed in which working measures for economic cooperation in 1984 and in preparation for the joint committee's fifth meeting were agreed.

Wolfgang Junker held further talks with Kuwaiti Government members, including Hamad 'Isa ar-Rujayb, minister of social affairs and labor and minister of housing; Anwar an-Nuri, presisent of the Industrial Bank of Kuwait; and with the president of the Kuwaiti construction works and research institutions.

MUELLER-LED DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO FRANCE

AU041522 East Berlin NEUS DEUTSCHLAND in German 29/30 Oct 83 p 2

[ADN report]

[Text] Paris (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee delegation under the leadership of Helmut Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee, which visited France at the invitation of the French Communist Party [PCF] was received on 28 October by Gaston Plissonnier, member of the Politburo and secretary fo the PCF Central Committee, for talks at the conclusion of its visit. During the exchange of views and experiences about the policy of the two parties Gaston Plissonnier gave an account of the multifaceted activities of the French communists to defend the rights of the workers class, to safeguard peace and to avert the danger of a nuclear war. He particularly valued the powerful mass demonstrations for peace and disarmament that took place over the last weekend all over France.

Helmut Mueller explained the active contribution made by the GDR as a firm bulwark of peace and socialism to the implementation of the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and of the United States of the socialist community. The interlocutors advocated the further deepening of the existing fraternal relations between the SED and the PCF in the spirit of international solidarity.

CONSTRUCTION MINISTER MEETS IRAQI PRESIDENT

AU041801 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Nov 83 p 2

[Excerpt] Baghdad (ADN) -- Oe Tuesday Iraqi President Saddam Husayn received for an exchange of views the heads of governmental delegations visiting Baghdad for the 20th Baghdad International Fair. At the meeting he conducted a friendly talk with GDR Construction Minister Wolfgang Junker. Wolfgang Junker conveyed personal greetings from Erich Honekcer, SED Central Committee General secretary and GDR State Council chairman. Saddam Husayn praised the stable and continuously developing political and economic relations between the GDR and the Republic of Iraq.

JOINT STATEMENT WITH EGYPT SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

LD071525 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1246 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Cairo, 7 Nov (ADN) -- The Solidarity Committees of the GDR and Egypt regard the planned stationing of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and the imperialist policy of confrontation and arms escalation as a danger to the whole of mankind. This was stressed in a joint statement issued in Cairo at the end of a visit by a GDR solidarity committee delegation led by its general secretary, Achim Reichardt. The two sides stressed that the U.S. administration's policy aimed at military and strategic superiority is responsible for the all-round aggravation of the international situation. They referred to the danger arising from the Israeli [as received] plans to site Pershing II missiles to an already tense situation in the Far and Middle East and stressed that they stand firmly at the side of the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, in the struggle for implementing its legitimate rights.

During its stay in Cairo the GDR delegation took part in a meeting of the permanent secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization. It reported on the GDR's solidarity with the struggle of the newly independent states and of the national liberation movements for national and social liberation.

TISCH MEETS VISITING ANGOLAN OFFICIAL LUVUALU

LD071412 East Berlin International Service in German 1204 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 7 Nov (ADN) -- In view of the danger of nuclear war caused by the imperialist policy of arms escalation and confrontation, the struggle for the preservation of peace is seen as the foremost task in the defense of the economic and social successes achieved in the GDR and Angola. This was stressed in a friendly talk by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Pascal Luvualu, general secretary of the Workers' Union of Angola (UNTA) and member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Party of Labor, Monday in Berlin.

The talk centered on issues connected with trade union representation of the interests of the workers in both countries. The two men also informed each other about the realization of the decisions of their trade union congresses.

The two sides regard NATO's arms escalation and the Reagan administration's policy of interference in Europe, Africa and other regions of the world as a serious threat to the security of life of peoples. The criminal intervention by Washington in Grenada is very strongly condemned as a gross violation of international law. Harry Tisch and Pascal Luvualu stressed the necessity for trade union actions in support of the socialist strategy of peace.

NOTED AUTHOR MAKES STATEMENT ON REUNIFICATION

WA081412 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLEGMEINE in German 2 Nov 83 p 5

[REUTERS article datelined Munich 1 Nov 83: "Heym: Without Atomic Weapons, Reunification Is Possible"]

[Text] GDR author Stefan Heym spoke out for a Germany free of atomic weapons as the first step on the road to reunification. "Two Germanys free of atomic weapons would be a beginning for many things," said the 70 year old author in a lecture given Tuesday [1 Nov 83] in Munich. Heym expressed the opinion that the reunification of Germany could only be achieved "by reaching a consensus." That would have to be "preceded by a long period of rapprochement." The East Berlin writer pointed out that even small nations were striving for self-determination and national identity all over the world. He added, "In all that chaos, is the specific division of Germany and of Berlin to be established once and for all? What an un-Marxian idea." The division of Germany, he said, was an "open wound," which would continue to fester "as long as the same language is spoken on both sides of the Elbe." If people view the division of Germany "as a passing phenomenon," they must in any event develop a "future plan" that everyone can agree on. Neither the political and economic system of the Federal Republic nor the "actually existing Socialism in the GDR" could be considered: both are "transitory," because they were imposed by the various occupying powers. Heym expressed the opinion that there were "already signs of change in both German states." "Across all the opposing views of the world, there reaches the warm, fraternal hand of the bankers, black and red, and that provides a reason for being hopeful."

DEPUTY PREMIER LEAVES FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA

LD081136 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 8 Nov 83

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI) -- Janos Borbandi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, left for Southeast Asia Tuesday morning for official visits to Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, where talks will be held on conditions and possibilities of further developing bilateral economic relations. The deputy premier is to attend the session of economic and technical-scientific cooperation committees.

HAVASI INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

LD071234 Budapest MTI in English 1018 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Budapest, November 6 (MTI) -- Sunday's NEPSZABADSAG carries an article by Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, on the development and renewal of the socialist economy.

The article surveys socialist economic development which started after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, and gained international character when the socialist world system and the CMEA were established after World War II. The article states:

"Whatever fascinating development the numerical achievements reflects, they cannot express the enormous economic potential and political force embodied by the community of socialist countries. Its existence itself exerts an influence on the world. This force, which is a determining factor of world policy now, played a decisive part in the collapse of the colonial system, and the emergence of developing countries on the political map of the world. It compels the advanced capitalist countries to make a new approach to several issues, for instance to relations with the developing countries, and the fulfillment of social-welfare tasks. The socialist community has made a major contribution to the facts that we have been living in peace in Europe for nearly 40 years, and mankind has not faced another world war."

Coming to international economic relations Ferenc Havasi states "The recognition that these relations accelerate development has always been an organic part of the theory and practice of socialist management system." He points out that socialist countries have never strived to eliminate or hinder economic relations between socialism and capitalism. "Such steps were always made by the imperialist powers," writes Havasi adding:

"International division of labour and economic relations have always been existing between the capitalist and socialist parts of world economy. However, a conscious and long-range foreign economic concept and an export-offensive attitude are required which facilitate that the socialist countries should take part, appropriate to their economic potential, in the system or world economic relations. The establishment of conditions required thereto will be an important test of strength for the socialist economy in the 1980.

"The development of economic relations, and extensive trade based on reciprocal benefits and excluding unilateral dependence, are the best pledges of the peaceful co-existence of the two social systems. In the early 1980s the world economy is coping with severe inherent contradictions, stagnating world trade, and an international monetary crisis. In the long run, cooperation with the socialist world economy can alleviate these tensions.

"From the economic point of view it is the cause of a lasting trend towards the development of world economic relations. Armament and political confrontation, of course, create opposite trends. As both tendencies are emerging simultaneously, and expected to be lasting ones, there is a possibility, though under changing conditions, to develop economic relations even under the unfavourable international political atmosphere," runs the article.

On the CMEA, which provides a framework for the economic relations of the socialist countries, Ferenc Havasi writes that economic collaboration and the coordination of economic development have created new possibilities of cooperation. "The participation of the Soviet Union in the CMEA is of chief importance due to its role played both in world policy and in world economy. Therefore cooperation with the Soviet economy is of particular importance for the participating countries. The Soviet supplies of machinery, equipment, industrial articles, energy and raw materials have contributed to the economic development of all CMEA countries in the recent decades. The great absorbing capacity of the Soviet market is of great importance, too. Several processing industrial branches of the CMEA countries were based on the Soviet demand and the safe outlet."

Discussing the [word indistinct] phase of socialist economic construction, Ferenc Havasi states that "the necessity of switching over from extensive development to an intensive one is valid for all socialist states in Europe." He points out "intensive development is based on the efficient utilization of available resources. The principle of using not more, but in a more efficient manner, directs towards the transformation of the whole character of the economy. This implies historically new and more difficult conditions for the development of the socialist economy.

"All socialist countries are seeking for a more efficient answer to this challenge. Considering that, beyond the general characteristics, the concrete situation is different in many respects in the various socialist countries, the possible answers also have to differ from each other in many aspects. Different economic measures are required in an economy which is exposed to external market effects to a small extent, and in another one, which is exposed to them to a greater extent. The special characteristics of socialist economies must necessarily manifest themselves in the formation of the intensive way of development.

"An intensive way implies increased reliance on forces lying in the country's traditions, and progressive economic customs, which utilizes the creative force of the initiating skill and small regional communities, groups and workplace collectives. Under socialist circumstances, with limited resources available, the resources of the micro-units and cells of the economy and society must be released. It leads necessarily to a variety in the economic structure.

"Intensive-type development makes it necessary to better utilize the possibilities of CMEA integration, and strengthening relations with the whole world economy.

"In the eighties the cooperation system of the CMEA countries faced a new situation. The effects of unfavourable world economic changes and internal problems concerning the switchover from the extensive to the intensive phase emerged simultaneously. It calls for the formulation of a new cooperation strategy and the development of cooperation methods. The socialist countries have been dealing with this issue for a long time, and it will be on the agenda of the top-level conference."

Ferenc Havasi regards the long-range solution of safe fuel energy and raw material supply as one of the chief tasks in the forthcoming decade. He states that the processing industrial cooperation must be consistently put in the service of establishing and modernizing the production structure adequate to the characteristics of different countries. Ferenc Havasi considers improved food supply, and the establishment of economic conditions better encouraging agricultural and food industrial production and export as of great political importance. A further advance is required in technical and scientific cooperation to reach high technical level in the progressive branches of national economies.

"The streamling of the international mechanism of economic cooperation between the CMEA countries, particularly the improvement of consultation and coordination in economic policy issues, the expansion of direct company-level ties, the further development of currency and financial system, and the harmonizing of relations with the capitalist countries, continue to be [words indistinct] tasks."

"We expect that the development of cooperation should improve the possibilities of CMEA countries for balanced and harmonic development and contribute to a greater extent to the solution of economic problems differently emerging in the different countries, and to the elimination of economic problems. It should explore additional resources for the maintenance of economic growth, the acceleration of economic development, the streamlining of the production structure and thus the improvement of our countries' position in the world market and increased competitiveness: It is our particular interest that CMEA cooperation should contribute to the maintenance of our relative internal economic stability and firm political state, the preservation of the living standard, and the successful implementation of our endeavours aimed at the improvement of our balance-of-payment with the capitlaist states. More efficient cooperation should create better conditions for a more dynamic and balanced development."

COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE CC HOLDS MEETING 1 NOV

AU041500 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 2 Nov 83 p 5

[Text] The KISZ Central Committee held a meeting on Tuesday, which was attended and addressed by Mihaly Korom, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Army Gen Lajos Czinege, minister of defense. Dr Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, participated in the meeting.

The Central Committee listened to a report by Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, on the 12 October session of the MSZMP Central Committee; discussed a report submitted by Laszlo Varga-Sabjan, secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, on the activity of KISZ organizations operating at the armed forces and bodies; and adopted a resolution on the youth league's tasks among youth serving in the armed forces and bodies.

Because of another important assignment, the Central Committee -- recognizing his merits -- have relieved Andras Juhasz of his position as secretary of the KISZ Central Committee and of his membership in the Executive Committee and Secretariat and admitted Sandor Szoradi among the members of the Central Committee and elected him Central Committee secretary and member of the Executive Committee and the Secretariat.

the Central Committee appointed Lajos Gubcsi editor-in-chief of MAGYAR IFJUSAG [HUNGARIAN YOUTH], admitted him among the members of the Central Committee, and elected him to member of the Executive Committee.

OLSZOWSKI, USSR ENVOY SPEAK AT GOSR MEETING

Olszowski Speech

LD071037 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Address by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at a solemn meeting held in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw to mark the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and citizens: In the important events of the history of mankind the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] occupies a particular place. A new chapter was opened in the book of history. The October Revolution undertook the building of a new socialist system on the foundation of the age-long, oldest, and most widespread of human strivings, which were, are, and will remain the ideas of justice and peace. Today, 66 years after the victory of the revolution, these ideas have acquired throughout the world the greatest significance in the strivings of peoples, human communities and units. It is in this sense that we say that the October Revolution is a pioneering undertaking. It was created by a new social force of the stage of history: the working class and its modern political party, the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the leader of the struggle for a socialism system and for peace.

We link the name of Vladimir Lenin with that party; Lenin, the leading figure of the 20th century. The experiences amassed since the October Revolution are the tried and tested sign of our work and struggle today for the further construction and consolidation of socialism. We think in particular about the experiences of the party built by Lenin on the foundation of scientific socialism and on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism; the party that adopted the progressive achievements of social thought and brought into the awareness of the working class the theoretical heritage of Marxism. In all its elements there are vital and current indications, principles and warnings, referring to the proper fulfillment of its historic responsibility by the party of the working class in the conditions of today.

The fruit of the October Revolution is the first state of workers and peasants in the world: the USSR. The land of the soviets overcame the centuries-long backwardness in development and became a socialist great power, built on a modern social, economic, and scientific-cultural structure. There has been no other instance in human history of such rapid social and individual advance of millions of working people in their own system of government. It must be remembered here how much energy, resources, and time had to be given by the revolution to defend itself against imperialism at the turn of the twenties and, primarily, to wage a war imposed upon it and be victorious, at the cost of enormous human and material losses, against the Nazi power of destruction.

The situation of the Soviet state has undergone a radical change in the international arena. Today its standing among the peoples of the world is immense. Peaceful cooperation links the Soviet Union with the countries of all continents. The principles of peaceful coexistence with states having different socioeconomic systems have gained international recognition and support. The experiences of the Soviet Union have found their expression and confirmation in the universal principles of the socialist system, expressing the content of a new epoch and the hopes of working people throughout the world.

The creation of a world socialist system was, after the October Revolution, the second epoch-making event in the history of the world. Today one-third of mankind has taken the road of socialist development. More and more newly-liberated peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America link their future prospects with the socialist development orientation. The community of socialist states constitutes today a fundamental factor in international life with crucial significance for the cause of peace, security, and cooperation of nations. Imperialism is no longer able to rule the world monolithically. The victory of the Great October, the world revolutionary process, today embracing all corners of the world, delineates the fundamental trends for the development of mankind. This is a constantly growing embracing more and more new social groups and strata in many countries of the world with the awareness of revolutionary practice. The experiences of the October Revolution, the Leninist theory of revolution, the achievements of the states of real socialism, the creation of a world socialism system -- all confirm the belief that the final victory in the struggle against oppression and for social and national liberation will go to the working people.

The October Revolution exerted a direct influence on the fate of our nation. It created conditions for regaining Poland's independence. The new government is Soviet Russian unequivocally condemned the rapacious policy of the tsardom, repealed the partitioning treaties and unconditionally recognized the right of the Polish people to self-determination. The correctness of the Leninist stance, to the effect that only a joint struggle by the Russian and Polish working class, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism can bring national and social liberation, was confirmed.

The words of Lenin have come true: Poland's freedom is impossible without the freedom of the USSR. National freedom has gained a universal quality in socialism. Thousands of Poles participated in the October Revolution and many Polish communists played an outstanding role in the creation and strengthening of the first workers' and farmers' state. This constitutes an important factor of our national tradition of struggle for the implementation of the ideals of socialism.

The state that was created by the Great October brought freedom to Poland for the second time with its victory over Hitler's fascism. The heroic Soviet Army saved our nation from the biological annihilation that was being prepared for us by Nazism. The 600,000 Soviet soldiers who feel on Polish soil will remain eternal evidence of the struggle for your and our freedom.

It is significant that during the greatest threat to the Polish nation, 40 years ago, the Soviet Union helped Polish patriots set up units of the new People's Army, which participated in liberating Poland together with the Soviet Army, and also consolidated the Polish-Soviet alliance created at that time with its own blood. This became a turning point for Polish political thought and a firm basis for the secure independence of People's Poland. The Polish-Soviet alliance ensured that the reconstruction of our statehood could take place within new just borders.

The Soviet Union's decisive stance at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences enabled Poland to return to the ancient land of Piast. The mutual interest in a strong and stable Poland in postwar Europe was the basis of this stance.

Comrades and citizens, when we recall the COSR and its work, it is necessary to voice a warning dictated by our concern for the future of the world today. We must state openly: During the postwar development of the international situation as a whole, the sense of anxiety and danger for peace has not been greater or more commonly felt than today. Uncertainty as to whether it is possible to maintain peace in the world has increased. The world has reached a state where it is facing a real threat of nuclear conflict.

What are the reasons for this unusual deterioration of the situation in Europe and the world? It arises from an open rejection by the United States and NATO of the idea of detente and peaceful coexistence and their replacement with the policy of confrontation. The leaders of the countries in question have attempted to undermine the historically formed, strategic balance of power between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and aim to gain military superiority on a European and global scale. This is to enable the United States and the NATO states to conduct a policy toward the socialist community from a position of power and not from the position of equality and identical secu ity.

The militarization of foreign policy has become the basis of Reagan administration's official course. As a result of this the United States has deemed military potential the fundamental means of realizing political aims. The United States and some of its NATO allies, considering force as the main argument in international policy, have begun intensive implementation of new, particularly dangerous arms plans. They assume that the arms race will encompass all kinds of arms and all regions of the world, including space. The United States has began to form a global coalition in the antisocialist crusade. This course is also characterized by the direct transformation of ideological differences to interstate relations, and by employing economic restrictions, boycott, and economic blackmail as political weapons. It is accompanied by propaganda aggression directed at discrediting the theory and practice of socialist construction, at frightening their own propertied classes with the communist threat, and at interfering in the socialist countries' internal affairs. A typical example of the policy of interference toward socialist countries is the current attitude of the United States toward Poland.

Martial law, introduced on 13 December 1981, put an end to American hopes to the effect that antisocialist forces in our country fulfilled their counterrevolutionary plans. The reaction of the Reagan administration on the 13 December decision was immediate and ruthless. There was an attempt to dictate political terms for Poland, economic restrictions were imposed, propaganda activities by the American broadcasting station to Poland increased, and Western allies were mobilized in order to create a political and economic cordon around our country. No attempt was too great to destabilize the internal and economic situation in Poland. No means and forces were spared in order to slander the country which with hard work and perseverance was overcoming its internal socioeconomic crisis. No little cynicism was necessary to trample under foot, with full awareness, the norms of international law and bilateral agreements signed and approved by three consecutive U.S. presidents prior to Reagan. From the beginning, consistently, patiently, but also resolutely we have pointed out to the American side that this policy leads nowhere, that using Polish affairs in a wide-ranging anticommunist crusade constitutes open and obvious interference in the internal affairs of the Polish state, and that the policy of diktat was, is, and will be rejected by Poland.

During the period of detente Polish-American relations were considerably developed, as befits the long tradition of these relations. We did not desire their destruction. We attempted to turn back the course of destroying these relations, one that had been imposed on us. Various diplomatic initiatives served this purpose; among them was the dispatch of a special envoy of the Polish Government to Washington in January this year. In its arrogance and in the hope of turning back the course of events Reagan's administration did not wish to take up these initiatives, nor did it wish to take notice of and recognize the process of normalization in Poland.

We have recently had intimations from Washington to the effect that the basic course of the policy of sanctions against Poland will be maintained, although plans are underway for insignificant and partial measures which, as a matter of fact, bear the nature of actions that are undertaken for appearances' sake and which still continue to have political conditions attached to them.

In this situation the Government of the PPR deemed it essential to set out its position in full in the face of the unfriendly and illegal American policy toward Poland. A note to the U.S. Administration, made public a few days ago, reflected Poland's position. We have nothing to hide. The possibility of improvement in bilateral Polish-American relations always exists, but on the following conditions: a halt to interference in Poland's internal affairs, recognition of our country's political realities, and departure from the policy of sanctions.

The concepts of national sovereignty and dignity are not hollow. The U.S. Administration must come to understand this, both with regard to Poland and with regard to other countries whose sovereignty and dignity have been unscrupulously violated by the United States.

Esteemed guests, preparations for the deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles in some European NATO countries, including the territory of the FRG -- that is, in direct proximity to Poland -- preparations that are entering a decisive stage, are a matter of particular concern to us. These plans have associations with the most tragic memories and experiences of the European nations, including our people. These plans create a qualitatively new threat for the cause of European security and world peace.

The questioning of the peaceful order in Europe -- and that has already begun -- an order that is based upon the system of cooperation between the superpowers as agreed in Yalta and Potsdam, the process of undermining the agreements reached during the postwar period, reflecting the correlation of forces that has taken shape in Europe -- all this constiutes part of this policy.

Leading representatives of the U.S. Administration do not hide the fact that the strategic line of their policy toward European socialist states is to destabilize the internal situation in those countries and to change their social system. It is no accident that it was not at a time when our state was sinking deeper and deeper into anarchy and daily becoming weaker and weaker, but at the time when on 31 December 1981 Poland's slide toward catastrophy was reversed that voices of politicians from imperialist states appeared in the West calling for a revision of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements. This shows that the sovereign and timely decisions made by Polish authorities shattered any expectations of a revision of the outcome of the World War II, of a change of the agreements that represent the foundations of the security of postwar Europe.

Less than 1 month later Zbigniew Brzezinski, former head of the U.S. National Security Council, considered -- I quote here his words -- the possibilities of an official renunciation of the Yalta Agreement. Exacerbating the military and ideological confrontation the United States, as recent statements by the U.S. President and vice president show, has undertaken the attempt to reinterpret the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements and Helsinki Final Act which represent their consistent continuation. U.S. Vice President George Bush said in Vienna on 21 September of this year -- I quote -- Some maintain that Helsinki confirms the status quo, that is the current division of Europe. We reject this thinking. End quote. Ronald Reagan has dotted the i's regarding Yalta.

Asked on 18 October of this year whether the U.S. Administration was considering leaving the current system created in Europe by the Yalta Agreement, or whether it was just a political concept or a generalized phrase reflecting pious wishes, the President said -- I quote -- Yes, we have always held this view, and this is why every year we continue to celebrate liberation day of subjugated nations of the world. This represents the basis of the overall relations with the Soviet Union. End quote.

Referring to the statement by George Bush, the U.S. President gave assurance that he received -- I quote -- the statement he made in Vienna with applause. End quote. In this way the idea of Yalta itself is gaining a new interpretation in U.S. policy.

Taking into consideration that many myths and ambiguities have grown up around the Yalta conference, it is worth recalling the basic facts. What really were the goals of the Yalta conference; what decisions were taken at that time; what significance do they have today in the conditions of contemporary Europe? What has caused the agreements concluded in Yalta and Potsdam to stand the test of time and despite a lapse of almost 40 years to constitute still the foundation of peaceful order in Europe?

The Yalta conference, in which the three leaders of the anti-Nazi coalition -- Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill -- participated, was held 3 months before the end of the war. The fate of the Nazi Reich was already sealed. National socialist Germany is destined for destruction, the conference communique read. The guiding aim of the agreement reached in Yalta was the will to establish lasting peace and security in Europe. The Yalta decisions were an expression of co-responsibility of the three great powers for the implementation of the proclaimed goals. The participants in the anti-Nazi coalition were determined to act in such a way as to preclude a repetition of the mistakes of the Versailles system. The August 1945 Potsdam Agreement confirmed and specified, after the war was over, the decisions made at Yalta.

The lasting nature of the solutions adopted at Yalta and Potsdam results from the fact that they corresponded to the balance of power in Europe and institutionalized cooperation between states with different social systems aimed at consolidating peace and international security. A particular adaption and updating of the Yalta-Potsdam Agreements, in changed conditions, are the CSCE resolutions approved a quarter of a century later.

The United States, with 34 other states of the CSCE, undertook at Helsinki to respect the principle of sovereign equality of states and to respect the rights emanating from sovereignty. This principle envisages that states participating in the CSCE process will respect -- I quote -- the right of each one of them freely to define and develop its own political, social, economic, and cultural system, as well as its right to issue laws and decrees. End quote.

The definition of a new peaceful territorial and political order in Europe provides the lasting value of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions. At Helsinki the states participating in the CSCE recognized -- I quote -- the mutual inviolability of all their borders, as well as the borders of all European states. For that reason, the CSCE declaration of principles reads, they will refrain now and in the future from attacks on those borders. In accordance with this, we read on, they will also refrain from any demands or acts aimed at seizing or usurping a part or whole of the territory of any of the participating states. End quote.

Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states is of fundamental significance for European security. Signing the CSCE Final Act, the United States undertook, and I quote, to refrain from any kind of interference, direct, individual, or collective, in internal or external affairs within the scope of the internal jurisdiction of another participating state, regardless of their mutual relations. End of quotation.

How can the open program of dictating to the European socialist states their ways of internal development and directional trends of foreign policy presented by U.S. Vice President George Bush and confirmed by President Ronald Reagan be reconciled with these principles?

It is no recent thing for the United States to lay claim to the role of teacher or arbiter of what is good and bad in the internal and foreign policy of other nations. The present Washington administration most evidently proceeds from the assumption that the nations of Europe and the world can have the American system of values imposed on them, as the bais for internal system solutions, and Pax Americana as the basis for a new peaceful order in international relations.

On the European Continent this goal is to be attained on the one hand by the policy of openly undermining the Yalta-Potsdam system confirmed in Helsinki and recently in Madrid, and on the other by the course of deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in the FRG and several other West European countries.

The conferneces in Yalta and Potsdam and their resolutions were a manifestation and result of the cooperation of the states of the anti-Nazi coalition during the war and assumed the vital need to maintain that cooperation also in a period of peace. They expressed respect for the principles of equality, reciprocity, and respect for the identical security interests of the participants. They concerned interstate cooperation and not the division into spheres of ideological influence.

The stance of President Roosevelt at Yalta was dominated by the will for cooperation with the Soviet Union to promote the maintenance of peace and the guaranteeing of conditions of security for future generations. The stance of the present host in the White House is defined by the will for confrontation and dictating solutions which suit the U.S. Administration today. This applies not only to Europe but to Central America, the Near East, and other regions of the world as well. Confrontation has replaced cooperation; and the arrogance of force has replaced respect for the principles of equality and mutual respect.

The decisions made in Yalta and Potsdam are of particular significance for Poland. They were an expression of recognition for the historical reasons of the Polish nation, testimony to historical justice and, above all, established new secure borders in accordance with Polish postulates.

Recognition of the inviolability of Polish borders, confirmed in the bilateral agreements of Poland and the GDR in 1950 and with the FRG in 1970, and normalization on this basis of relations between the socialist countries and the FRG, opened the way to the convention of the CSCE in Helsinki. The foundations laid in Yalta and Potsdam made it possible to construct an edifice of security in new circumstances in helsinki and to continue in Madrid the course begun in Helsinki. The attitude on the issue of Polish borders was 40 years ago and remains to this day an important criterion of the attitude of states toward European security.

In Yalta when Churchill stated that for the British Government the Polish case was a matter of honor, Stalin stated in reply that, I quote, for the Russians the Polish case is not only a matter of honor but also a matter of security. A matter of security because the most important strategic problems of the Soviet state are linked with Poland. Stalin stressed, I quote, for centuries Poland has been the corridor through which enemies have attacking Russia. It is enough to recall the last 30 years. During this period Germany went through Poland twice to attack our country. Why did the enemies go through Poland so easily? Mainly because Poland was weak. The Polish corridor cannot be mechanically closed from outside just by the Russian forces. It can only be closed effectively from inside with Poland's own forces. To this end it is necessary for Poland to be strong. That is why, Stalin concluded, the Soviet Union is interested in creating a powerful, free, and independent Poland. The issue of Poland is an issue of life and death for the Soviet state. End of quotation.

In June 1945, after the completion of negotiations, Stalin told the representatives of the government of national unity, I quote: We do not want you just to take our word for it; no one must believe in words alone. Let facts and deeds prove the attitude of Russia toward Poland, and in accordance with them our mutual relations ought to be shaped. In politics faith must be based only on facts. End of quotation.

Never, not in the most difficult moments of our postwar history, including the last few years, has the Polish nation been disappointed in the friendship and alliance with USSR and in the assistance of our eastern neighbor. [applause]

On return from the Potsdam conference Wladyslaw Gomulka worte these memorable words: Only hard and devoted work will consolidate the victory Poland won at Potsdam. These words sound today as a contemporary warning and political direction. Polish foreign policy has done a great deal to consolidate the security system whose foundations were laid at Yalta and Potsdam. Years have elapsed, Europe and the world have changed, but the principles on which peace, security, and international cooperation are based remain unchanged.

In the Madrid final document all the states that participated in the CSCE again enunciated their decisiveness in undertaking new efforts aimed at rendering detente an effective process, as well as a continuous one, which will be constantly developed, comprehensive, and common in its range in accordance with the resolution adopted at Helsinki.

At the end of the Helsinki conference President Gerald Ford stated -- I quote -- History will judge this conference not on the basis of what we say here today but on the basis of what we do tomorrow; not on the basis of promises given but on the basis of promises kept. End quote. This is true. The measure of each policy is not words but actions. These actions do not, will not secure glory for the current U.S. foreign policy. Instead of negotiations and cooperation, the United States has chosen a course toward confrontation and diktat. Feeling responsible for the interests of Poland, historic facts and out-dated conceptions of Western politicians have been recalled. It is our duty to notice these early and to undertake activities in the interest of Poland's security and peace as a whole.

Comrades and citizens, our concern for the course of events in the world arises not from a fear that we are defenseless in the face of this new imperialist threat. The defense might of the Soviet Union and the alliance of the Warsaw Pact states is capable of matching this challenge. Our concern has been aroused by the activities of the United States and certain allies and also by the consequences that the implementation of their plans, which are dangerous for peace, would bring about.

Because the balance of power between the Warsaw Pact and NATO is the basis for security on a global scale also, its breach through the deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles constitutes a major threat for European and world peace. It has long been obvious that the United States' alleged readiness to negotiate and to reach an agreement have been declared exclusively in order to create an appearance of concern for security and peace and to neutralize the growing wave of protest among various political and social forces in Western Europe and many other countries of the world, opposing the threat of a nuclear conflict. The demagogic attitude of the United States toward the Soviet Union's constructive proposals concerning disarmament confirm this. Attempts on the part of the United States to transfer ideological differences to the sphere of interstate relations, or -- and this is even more dangerous -- to resolve these differences with the help of force, constitute a particularly dangerous source of threat against peace. The U.S. military involvement in Lebanon or the direct military intervention in the Central America are glaring examples of this policy.

The U.S. aggression against Grenada constitutes a brutal violation of the sovereignty and independence of other nations, contrary to the slogans declared by the Reagan administration of freedom, democracy, and equal partnership in international relationships. The act of violence, which is condemned by us and broad world opinion, has reconfirmed that imperialism will not hesitate to use any means to realize its dangerous plans and to oppose these forces that support social progress, democracy, and peace. The Reagan administration has blinded itself with a fanatical conviction that the standard for human values only exists in Washington, and that if other nations make a choice according to their own system of values and needs, the United States usurps a right to use force, including military aggression, every place they are capable of carrying it out. It is impossible to enslave the nations of the world and their social aspirations with the aid of U.S. Marines. Poland has clearly and decisively condemned this act of aggression by the United States.

Comrades and citizens, the disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Pact states provide a counterweight to the concern now felt by the nations of Europe and the world. The Soviet Union and socialist community states have repeatedly pointed out that further prospects for the development of peaceful relations in Europe and in the world are inseparably connected with progress in the area of military detente. This conviction is reflected in a comprehensive system of proposals formulated during the Prague conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

The proposals formulated by Comrade Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his statement of 28 September this year and in his interview for the 26 October PRAVDA constitute the most recent and particularly important aspect of this policy. The Soviet Union, together with other fraternal socialist states, consistently fights to have the arms race slowed down and for a gradual disarmament. It was the Soviet Union that pledged not to be the first to use nuclear arms. The proposals of the country of the Soviets regarding the simultaneous freeze, on the part of all nuclear powers and, above all, on the part of the USSR and the United States of the nuclear arms at their disposal, regarding the complete and universal ban on nuclear arms testing, regarding the ban on militarization of space and on the use of force in space and on the use of force directed from space against earth, as well as the proposals to condemn once and for all the nuclear war as being the gravest crime against mankind are of very great importance.

The essence of the Soviet position at the disarmament negotiations is the desire to conclude a just agreement that would take into account the principle of equal security of the sides. The Soviet position particularly stands out by its flexibility, which is reflected in a series of modifications to proposals that meet the other side halfway. This is a preactical expression of the vitality of Leninist ideas of peaceful coexistence, of Leninist teachings about compromise as an instrument for implementing the peaceful policy of the socialist states.

We support the Soviet Union's initiatives. They also reflect our Polish position with regard to this issue -- the most vital issue for us. We are for a further, peaceful future of the world, for the possibility of developing equal international relations, for peaceful coexistence among states with different socioeconomic systems. Socialism, which we are building in our country and which was begun by the GOSP, has no goals other or greater than the concern for the good of the people and its interests.

This concern primarily requires a struggle against war and a struggle for peace. These noble slogans were formulated in the first documents adopted by young Soviet authorities. It was on Lenin's initiative that one of the first international actions undertaken by the young Soviet state was to propose a program of common disarmament. Disarmament based on just premises was and remains one of the most important tasks of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

There is a line that cannot be crossed, however. This line is defined by the interests of security of the Soviet Union and its allies. Their breach, caused by the deployment of new American nuclear weapons in Europe will cause on the part of the state members of the Warsaw Pact moves that will guarantee that the balance is restored both on a European and strategic scale. We are in agreement with these moves. The Polish raison d'etre [as heard] is also at stake here, as is the existence and security of the state and Polish nation. [applause]

At present, where the fate of peace has been threatened by the U.S. and NATO policy aimed at confrontation, when the threat of annihilation faces mankind, the humanitarian value and historic dimension of the COSR gain supreme significance. The October Revolution has created a state which in its might, supported by coalitionist forces of other socialist countries, is capable of erecting an effective barrier that will make it impossible for the militant forces of imperialism to start a nuclear war.

Esteemed comrades and citizens, tied to the Soviet Union by fraternal links of friendship, we support its peaceful policy and efforts in the defense of socialism's achievements in accordance with our strength and capabilities. It is an essential contribution to the united activities of the socialist community to extricate oneself from the internal crisis in which our country found itself and to rally the public around the idea of renewal such as that formulated at the Ninth PZPR Congress, around the program of combating anarchy and disintegration of state structures, and around the program of agreement of all Poles on the basis of mutual patriotic duty of national salvation.

With the strenuous efforts being made by the working class, by all working people under the leadership of the PZPR -- which is supported by the allied political parties, ZSL and SD -- with the cooperation of a growing social force, reborn trade unions, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, we are overcoming contemporary difficulties. The efforts of the nation, its maturity, patience, and altruism are responsible for the fact -- I quote -- that hope is returning to Poland. Our life is still not easy. We face many difficult tasks. We are, however, on the right path toward stabilization and development.

People's Poland is entering the fourth decade of its existence. The 4 decades of People's Poland are decades also of great national effort, intensive work by millions of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, selfless service of the soldiers of the Polish People's Army and militiamen for a strong, just, and safe Poland. The indisputable achievements of these 4 decades are the work of all Poles. With a most critical attitude adopted toward the shortcomings of the postwar period, the achievements of People's Poland in the social and economic sphere and the sphere of civilization and national security represent a crowning of the best Polish progressive traditions, a result of the thought and work of Polish communists, socialists, populists and democrats, the whole of the social left. This is a value of historical dimension.

The Polish working class, its avant-garde, the PZPR, and its predecessors and the allied political parties, advancing along the path of the July manifesto, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teachings, linking patriotism with internationalism, has been able to ensure lasting independence, existence within secure state borders and profound social reforms for the nation. A great cultural advancement of working people has taken place. Over 5.5 million citizens, with a mainly working class and peasant background, have received secondary education and over 2 million higher education. Everyone who wants to take an objective and unbiased look must take these matters into account in the balance of the ups and downs of our past and cannot fail to reach the conclusion that the balance of People's Poland is clearly positive.

Let the words spoken by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, be a summing up here -- I quote -- Forty years of people's power have fundamentally changed the country and the community. They have led the country out of economic and civilizational stagnation, raised from the wartime ruins and ashes, given it its first safe borders for centuries and lasting alliances -- of which the most valuable is that with the Soviet Union -- and have given it a worthy place in the community of socialist countries and among the nations of the world. End quote. One of the fundamental component factors of the political line of the ninth congress is the fraternal friendship, alliance, and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union. This alliance was, is, and will remain the cornerstone of our policy since it reflects the class, national and state interests of the PPR.

The Polish-Soviet alliance creates favorable conditions for socialist development and constitutes an unfailing guarantee of security, independence, and territorial integrity of Poland within historically justified borders. This policy, expressing the class and national raison d'etat of socialist Poland, has passed its historical test. The recent period again confirmed this truth -- the period of the last 3 years that have been so difficult for our country. The land of the soviets gave Poland full assistance and political support. At a time when people of ill-will were trying to spread anti-Soviet psychosis in our country the Soviet Union hurried to the aid of our economy by granting as early as January 1981 nonreturnable credit of $465 million. In those most difficult years we were granted on favorable terms Soviet credits amounting to almost R4 billion and $1 billion with the possibility of repayment after 1985. We received from the Soviet Union additional supplies of raw materials, industrial goods and food. Because of this assistance from and wide cooperation with the USSR, our economy was able to survive the most difficult moments and to begin the process of overcoming the effects of the crisis, and there was gradual normalization of the socioeconomic and political situation.

We link further progress on this with the quantitative and qualitative extension of universal cooperation with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries. It concerns not only economic and scientific-technological cooperation but also all spheres of our mutual relations at party, trade union, youth, scientific, and cultural levels. Throughout the almost 40 years of People's Poland direct personal contacts between Poles and well-known centers of culture, science, modern industry, and agriculture of the Soviet Union have been increasing. Great credit for that goes to the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship, the co-organizer of those contacts. Moscow and Leningrad, Kiev and Minsk have become the cities that by their heritage and today's development are attracting great interest among our compatriots. On the other side, the citizens of the Soviet Union willingly visit our country, our historic monuments and cities. Many young people have either completed or are continuing studies in well-known academic centers: Polish youth in the Soviet Union; Soviet youth in Poland. Permanent links have been established among intellectuals, scientists of various spheres of knowledge, and specialists of modern manufacturing technologies. The joint space flight with the participation of Polish pilot-cosmonaut Miroslaw Hermaszewski was a symbolic fact. The socialist cultures of our societies have found unlimited possibilities of contacts, exchange of values, and mutual benefits from this exchange.

Polish, Russian, and Soviet literature is today widely accessible to the reading public in both countries. Outstanding works of music, classical and contemporary, Polish and Soviet, have a common audience, joint lovers. The same is the case where the best achievements of the theater, film, and fine arts are concerned. In Poland outstanding Soviet artists are known. In the Soviet Union prominent Polish artists are also known. The agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation that has recently been signed opens up new opportunities for filling, with humanist content, the coexistence of our nations and of their young generations in particular.

Esteemed comrades and citizens, festively celebrating the GOSR Anniversary, we reach by traditions for its noble ideals; we cast a glance at the achievements in socialist and communist construction in the socialist community states. The world's socioeconomic and political development since the GOSR victory provides a confirmation of the correctness of the path chosen by the proletariat of Russia.

Long may the fatherland of the October Revolution, the USSR, live and prosper! Long live the friendship and alliance [applause] between the PPR and the USSR! Long live peace and socialism! [applause]

USSR Envoy's Speech

LD072142 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1656 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Address by Aleksandr Alsenov, USSR ambassador to Poland, at a meeting held in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw to mark the 66th Great October Socialist Revolution Anniversary -- live in Russian with superimposed Polish translation; first four words spoken in Polish]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear friends: Today the Soviet people, the working people of socialist countries and the whole of progressive mankind are festively marking the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR]. The revolution, carried out by the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the great Lenin, constituted the foundation for the revolutionary renewal of the world which today nobody can halt. The great month of October constitutes a turning point in the life of our states and nations. The Soviet and Polish nations, according to what is already a well-grounded tradition, honor the GOSR anniversary as a holiday that belongs to both of them alike. This has a profound meaning. The revolution confirmed the historical correctness of Lenin's utterance to the effect that a free Poland cannot exist without a free Russia. It also confirmed the forecasts of Polish revolutionaires, party members and proletariat concerning the close dependence of the Polish nation's destiny on the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

The names of thousands upon thousands of internationalist Poles who made a worthy contribution to the victory of the GOSR, who heroically defended its gains during the years of the civil war and imperialist intervention, and who took part in the construction of the young Soviet state, have forever remained in the grateful memory of the Soviet people. On the day of our great revolutionary holiday allow me to convey to you, the representatives of the public of the heroic Warsaw, and through you to all the working people in Poland, fraternal greetings from the Soviet people, sincere wishes of successes [applause] at work for the good of the PPR. [applause]

Comrades, raising the GOSR banner the workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors of Russian believed and were conscious that they were laying the foundations for the great cause of the construction of a new social system that would meet with recognition and be continued by the working people of other countries, on other continents.

Measured by the yardstick of history, the 66 years that have passed since the GOSR do not amount to a long period. But how the world has changed over that period! How enormous and all embracing are the transformations that have taken place in economy in in mankind's social development! The GOSR opened up a new epoch in world history. It is the epoch of mankind going over from capitalism to socialism, of the struggle to liberate the working people from the imperialist yoke, for the elimination of war from the life of the nations.

A mighty wave of socialist and national liberation revolutions rolled over the whole world following the victory of the revolution in Russia. The main, international significance of the GOSR lies in the construction of developed socialism in the Soviet Union, and in the creation and development of the world socialist system that defines the nature of the present day. This development will not be halted by storms, threats of war, or imperialist provocations. Profound internationalist emotions are aroused in the Soviet people by the historic fact that our country is part of a large and dynamically developing family of socialist states. In the international policy of the Soviet Union the issues of strengthening friendship and developing cooperation with fraternal countries have occupied, and still do, a particular high position. Our party's most important concern will still be consolidating the socialist community. Our strength lies in our unity, the guarantee of ultimate success, even at times of most serious trials.

Together with the PPR and other socialist states, our country participates in the creation of a completely new type of international relations. Its basis is ideological unity, common aims, fraternal cooperation accompanied by full respect for the interests, special characteristics, and traditions of each country, socialist internationalism, unswerving friendship and fraternity between nations. [applause]

Political cooperation among socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact is gaining increasing significance. The following have become important bases on this road: The Prague Political Consultative Committee conference in January of this year and the Moscow meeting of party and government leaders from fraternal countries in June. That was an impulse to tightening our cooperation, which is becoming increasingly active. All in all, we can see that the alliance of socialist countries, united in the Warsaw Pact, is a dynamic, developing organism whose role in the struggle for peace and security in the world will continue to grow.

The positive development of Soviet-Polish relations, as well as the all-round economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation arouse profound satisfaction in all Soviet people.

The Soviet people have accepted with recognition the high assessment of allied solidarity and trust and of the Soviet Union's fraternal aid for People's Poland, which was expressed by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, in his interview for Soviet central television. They fully share his words about the vital need not only for development but for further quantitative and qualitative broadening of Soviet-Polish cooperation.

Evaluating highly the successful development of economic cooperation between our countries, the leaderships of the CPSU and the PZPR give top priority to future prospects for its deepening and improvement. Our countries have enormous economic potential for further broadening mutually beneficial cooperation. Great reserves exist in the sphere of industrial coproduction and scientific-technical cooperation; in the agricultural-industrial sphere; in the creation of modern technology. Today, it can be said with complete conviction that the further development and strengthening of integrational links between the Soviet Union and Poland will be furthered by a more successful expansion of the economy, an increase in the productivity of the national economies of our countries, and an increase in the prosperity of working people. Cooperation in science and culture is embracing qualitatively new fields. This enables a real enrichment of the spiritual life of our peoples.

The indissoluble bonds of friendship and brotherhood between our peoples are a guarantee of the further successful development of cooperation between the USSR and Poland. This friendship is the historic achievement of the Soviet and Polish peoples.

It has stood the test of time. It was cemented with jointly spilt blood in the fight against fascism and it is, therefore, sacred and inviolable. We were united by a single goal in the years of trial; we were united by a joint victory. It is for that very reason that the Soviet people celebrated so widely and ceremonially this year the 40th anniversary of the Polish Army, covered in glory, whose creation signified at the same time the birth of Soviet-Polish brotherhood-in-arms.

The Soviet people, brought up in the spirit of socialist internationalism, believe deeply that taking advantage of the rich values of the socialist system and of the support and help from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, the working people of Poland, under the leadership of the PZPR, will successfully overcome the difficulties and ensure the further systematic development of their homeland.

Comrades, we are all glad that the CPSU Central Committee and the PZPR Central Committee and the governments of our countries are fully determined in the future to strengthen Polish-Soviet links, and to cooperate closely in implementing the agreed line in international affairs. The cooperation between our countries in the international arena assumes particularly great significance in the conditions of the unprecedented worsening of the international situation that is taking place.

Imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is undertaking increasingly concentrated, unprecedented attacks against the socialist system; it is contemplating preposterous plans to dominate the world. By its aggressive policy, by increasing the arms race, it is pushing mankind to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The steps taken by the United States and its closest allies have gravely worsened the world situation, especially the situation in Europe, where the Reagan administration has decided to deploy its medium-range nuclear missiles practically at the threshold of our home. All this must cause serious concern and worry.

The 27 September statement by Comrade Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, expressed the Soviet Union's steadfast will to preserve peace. This made a detailed analysis of the world situation and presented our assessment of the dangerous effects of the adventurous course taken by the United States. This statement clearly and consistently disclosed the aspiration of the United States and its allies to break the military equality between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, together with their aspiration to deploy new U.S. missiles on the European Continent and to gain military superiority over socialist countries regardless of the price. The stake on increasing its military presence and the ruthless use of force against those states whose policy does not suit Washington, of which the bandit-like attack on little Grenada provides a significant example, and the provocations against Nicaragua, underline the extreme danger and irresponsibility of this adventurous militaristic course. In these circumstances the Soviet Union, Poland, and the other socialist countries members of the Warsaw Pact are doing all in their ability to improve the political climate in the world and to remove the nuclear threat hanging over the world.

This concerns Europe, above all. It has become the sore point in international relations. During the Geneva talks on nuclear arms limitations, which have been in progress for more than 2 years, the Soviet side has always shown the necessary flexibility and readiness to arrive at agreements which the two sides would be able to accept. The new proof of this constructive Soviet attitude is the specific proposals contained in the replies of Comrade Yuriy Andropov to the questions of PRAVDA of 27 September this year.

The West, as mentioned earlier, in trying to force by various means the deployment of Pershing II and other missiles, uses false statements to the effect that these steps could give a new impulse to the talks that are being conducted.

The principal position of our country -- and this has been stated with full clarity -- is that the deployment of new American missiles will create a situation in which the continuation of the present talks in Geneva will prove impossible. The Geneva negotiations, on the other hand, can be conducted if the United States does not start the actual deployment of the missiles. The Soviet Union, showing real flexibility, a really constructive attitude, and readiness to agree to even the most radical solutions, including the total freeing of Europe from nuclear weapons, at the same time cannot allow unilateral disarmament, or the breach in the balance of power that would treaten the security of our country and that of our allies.

We are convinced that it is possible to tame the aggressive forces of contemporary imperialism to prevent nuclear disaster. It is the order of the moment to mobilize all forces of the world to fight against the approaching danger. It is necessary to thwart the plans and activities of aggressive circles of imperialism and to take decisive steps to prevent the world sliding toward a catastrophe.

In the struggle for a turning point and an improvement in the course of events in the world, the socialist community has a broad and comprehensive program of realistic and constructive initiatives at its disposal. Socialism is the most stable bastion of peace and its most reliable guard. The Polish and the Soviet nations and also the nations of other socialist countries are proud that in this struggle our countries are side by side, bearing high the banner of peace over the world. [applause]

Comrades, in accordance with the Leninist tradition the Soviet nation honors the ceremonies of every anniversary of the GOSR with new achievements in work; it accounts for the road already traveled; it concentrates on the key direction of creative work. The decisions of the November and July plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, which defined the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress concerning requirements of economic development and ideological work, have become an important determining factor of this activity.

As regards economy, the fact of the matter is that our country is entering a new stage in its economic development, when the gigantic scale of production forces and social needs dictate the need for enhancing all organizational and economic activities, for substantially improving the effectiveness of the whole national economy, and for changing it into an efficient mechanism that works without obstructions. So the task is to introduce the most modern achievements of science and technology into all spheres of our economy. In connection with that, active steps have been taken in order to transform the economy into one of intensive development, to speed up scientific and technological progress, to improve the management of economy, and to intensify universally economic and labor discipline. Because of this, stable development and enchanced effectiveness of production are secured. It may be said today that within this year a higher than average -- that is, for the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan -- rate of development of the economy and labor productivity will be guaranteed. I want to stress that our party considers enhanced labor productivity as a key task in the country's economy. Constant development of our economy creates all the necessary premises for a further rise in the living standard and for the flourishing of its science and culture.

Our nation welcomes the 66th GOSR Anniversary with an intensified work rate, with moral and political unity, and by rallying around their vanguard, the CPSU. The nation of the land of soviets travels the Leninist way with confidence and consistency. The Soviet people, loyal to the standard of socialist and proletarian internationalism, send fraternal greetings to the working class of the DPR, to all socialist countries, to the fighters for peace throughout the world. [applause]

Finally, I would like to thank cordially Stefan Olszowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs of Poland, for his warm words addressed to the CPSU, the Soviet nation, and Comrade Yuriy Andropov, the great and true friend of the socialist Poland.

Long live the 66th Anniversary of the COSR! Long Live the friendship of the Soviet and Polish nations! Long live peace and socialism! [applause]

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Jaruzelski Soviet Reception

LD072108 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw 7 Nov -- The Soviet Ambassador to Poland Aleksandr Aksenov gave a reception here today to mark the 66th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was attended by representatives of Poland's top party and state authorities led by PUWP CC First Secretary, Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

WARSAW REPORT ON DISMISSAL OF OFFICIALS

LD071853 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] In accordance with the decisions made at the extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers on 3 November, it has been made incumbent on the minister of domestic trade and services to put forward recommendations concerning those directly responsible for transgressions made in the course of the implementation of the decision to restore the rationing of butter, lard, and margarine.

On the grounds of the recommendations presented, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Edward Szymanski from the post of undersecretary of state, first deputy minister of domestic trade and services, and has accepted the resignation of Andrzej Bors, an undersecretary of state in this ministry.

The minister of metallurgy and machine engineering industry reports that as a result of the recommendation received, he has decided to recall Andrzej Moszynski from the post of director general of the Radmor radio plant and Feliks Slusarki, director for investment projects and production continuity at the plant in connection with the luxurious way in which the directors' offices have been furnished. It has been decided to suspend the two employees of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Engineering Industry from performing official duties. Disciplinary proceedings have been initiated.

PORK, BEEF PRODUCTION DOWN, GRAIN IMPORTS NEEDED

LD072239 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Excerpt] Plant production this year was good, but the level of contract purchasing, particularly purchases of grain will not be enough for us to be self-sufficient. We will purchase 5 million metric tons of grain; we need 8.5 metric tons. Imports of grain will be in the region of 3 million metric tons both this and next year. It is most urgent at present to implement the planned imports of feed, as it is only then that we shall be able to stop the fall in pork and beef production. Increased production of these meats will begin in about a year's time.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF 1984 ECONOMIC PLAN

AU031311 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29/30 Oct 83 p 6

["Basic Assumptions of the 1984 Central Annual Plan"]

[Text] On 28 April 1983 the Sejm adopted the 1983-85 National Socioeconomic Plan. The 1984 Central Annual Plan will detail the tasks for the 2d year of the 1983-85 plan, whose implementation will be determined to a decisive extent by the results of the 1984 plan.

In accordance with the 26 February 1982 Law on Socioeconomic Planning, the first stage of the Central Annual Plan consists of drawing up its assumptions on the basis of the decisions of the National Socioeconomic Plan for the given year. Having examined the draft assumptions of the Central Annual Plan for 1984, the Council of Ministers decided to submit them to extensive social consultations in order to find the most effective ways of achieving the development targets adopted by the National Socioeconomic Plan and to make the people aware of the conditions of the development of Poland's economic situation in 1984.

The general task stipulated by the National Socioeconomic Plan is to restore the balance of the economy and to ensure development conditions for it. The primary way to do this is to radically improve the effectiveness of economic management, which will thus determine the effective implementation of the basic aims of socioeconomic policy in 1983-86, such as adequate food for the nation, maximum satisfaction of housing needs, improved flow of consumer staple industrial goods for the population, protection of the poorest sections of the population, and restoring the state's fiscal equilibrium.

The favorable development of the social and economic situation in many sectors in 1983 is favorable to the implementation of the aims of the 1983-85 National Socioeconomic Plan.

The increase in social militancy is a crucial issue. Further progress in this regard can help tap the forces that will enable us to achieve better results.

The external conditions determined by the international situation also have a crucial effect on the assumptions of the plan. A further deterioration of this situation would be bound to make it necessary to change the plan by reducing the level of production, including the production of consumer and export goods, and the level of meeting social needs.

In line with the Law on Socioeconomic Planning, the 1984 plan assumptions were drawn up as alternatives in the fields in which it is possible to implement more quickly the tasks of the 3-year plan or in which the normal implementation of these tasks could be threatened. An important aim of public consultations is to find out views on choosing the alternatives with which all our people are faced.

The assumptions of the 1984 plan were formulated on the strength of the evaluation of the estimated implementation of the socioeconomic tasks in 1983; the analysis of domestic and external conditions of the national economy in 1984; and the definition of main problems of and threats to the implementation of the plan.

In addition the lines for modifying the mechanism and instruments of the economic reform -- these mechanism and instruments will be in force as of 1984 -- were established and presented in a separate publication approved by the Sejm.

The implementation of the Central Annual Plan in 1983 generally indicates favorable development trends, but some of these trends are encountering more difficulties in some sectors than was envisaged when the plan was being drafted.

Industrial production has picked up visibly and this makes it possible to assume that it will increase about 5-6 percent for the whole of 1983 and that the planned tasks will be overfulfilled by Z250-300 billion within the same time. However, progress of change in the structure of industrial production and of its adaption to needs, especially to the needs of the domestic market, is inadequate. The same is true of improving the effectiveness of production and the thrifty conservation of raw and other materials. The quality of many industrial goods is also doubtful.

It is estimated that the implementation of the tasks aimed at conservation and effectiveness will help reduce material intensiveness by 1-1.5 percent, which will be a better result than in previous years, but worse than provided for by the plan, which envisaged a reduction of 2.2 percent. The analysis of the consumption of materials and energy per unit of product shows that the scale of improvements in this consumption is much smaller in many cases and is even worse at times.

As for agriculture, the grain yields were good because they amounted to over 22 million tons. The planned level of grain procurement has already been exceeded. The yields of vegetables and fruit are good and the production of milk and eggs continues to be relatively high. The production of sugar should achieve the level of 1982. However, unfavorable features are also there: For example, in 1983 the number of hogs has been greatly reduced; this will create a drop in animal production in the last 6 months of this year and in 1984. Nevertheless, overall farm production this year will be slightly higher than it was in 1982.

In 1983 we will have implemented the basic assumption of the plan -- to maintain the general equilibrium between money and the flow of goods, given a much higher than planned rate of increases in the population's incomes and retail prices. The drop in real wages has also been stopped. When the National Socioeconomic Plan was being adopted it was envisaged that retail prices would suitably increase in line with the higher than planned increases in nominal wages.

The 1983 plan provided for a 13-percent increase in nominal incomes, including a 16-percent increase in wages, but current estimates indicate that the increase in incomes will amount to 23 percent and in wages to about 25 percent. This means that the planned targets will have been exceeded by over Z460 billion, including Z200 billion in wages increases. This also means that the planned index for price increases will also have been exceeded.

The social results of such a situation involve among other things a deterioration in the relation between the remuneration of workers employed in the material sphere -- their remuneration will probably increase about 26 percent this year -- and the remuneration of the workers in the non-material sphere, that is, in health service, education, administration, and so on, which will increae about 21 percent.

Whereas the flow of the basic foods covered by the rationing system is relatively effective and makes it possible to limit this rationing, we still have shortages of certain goods, especially industrial goods.

The distinctive feature of the situation of foreign trade and balance of payments with regard to trade with the socialist countries, especially the USSR, is the surplus of imports over exports. As for trade with the capitalist countries, we have taken additional measures to catch up with the delays in implementing the annual export tasks. However, it is still uncertain whether these measures will be enough to compensate for the inadequate increase in exports, mainly the export of electroengineering products, and for the results of the drop in the prices for our export goods.

The worse prices and the present economic restrictions, including the blockade of loans, the present international situation, and the recession of the world economy, are hindering the implementation of the 1983 export plan. Nevertheless, by limiting our

imports to what we must absolutely have, the balance of payments with the capitalist countries will be in our favor by a billion. This will enable us to ensure the implementation of our obligations concerning the payment for imports and the repayment of loans.

The investment outlays stipulated by the 1983 plan will be exceeded. The structure of these outlays has become unfavorable because the share of assembly work is high and amounts to over 65 percent. The plan for commissioning investment projects is being implemented unfavorably, which is causing delays in achieving production effects. At the same time, for the first time in many years, the number of completed apartments will increase and the housing plan will be overfulfilled.

The national income will increase in 1983 for the first time in 4 years.

Changes in Socioeconomic Conditions in 1984

The stabilization of the sociopolitical situation and further improvements in the economic reform solutions continue to create better conditions for accelerating economic processes and overcoming the crisis.

The domestic factors that determine the development of the country's situation in 1984 include the following:

-- further improvements in the production and supply of many industrial goods, especially those produced under government orders, will take place;

-- requirements concerning improvements in the effectiveness of economic management, especially reductions in the material intensiveness and energy intensiveness of production, which will call for intensified conservation measures in all economic units will increase;

-- in the first half of 1984 threats may appear as a result of some unfavorable phenomena in farming, which applies especially to the production and supply of meat as affected by the drop in the number of hogs in 1983.

The unfavorable situation in world trade, the deteriorated export opportunities, and difficulties in obtaining new loans may cause a deterioration in the conditions of 1984 as compared with those that were assumed when the 1983-85 National Socioeconomic Plan was being drawn up.

Assumptions of the 1984 Central Annual Plan

The basic lines of action provided for by the assumptions of the 1984 plan are:

-- exploiting all possible means of increasing the production of consumer goods for domestic use and for export;

-- countering unfavorable phenomena in the economy.

The primary issue in the first case is to accelerate the increase in the production of industrial consumer goods and of highly refined goods for export. Modifications of economic reform mechanisms and activities at all levels of economic management are meant to promote this task, which is an important undertaking for state enterprises and cooperatives, as well as for their leading cadres, self-management bodies, and sociopolitical organizations.

The primary issue in the second case is to tone down inflationary tensions and improve the effectiveness of production and of the quality of products. Efforts to overcome the difficulties in keeping the flow of consumer goods must go hand in hand with the

consistent struggle against all kinds of waste, against profiteering, and against exploitation of economic difficulties to promote parochial interests of individuals and groups.

The planned increase of 3.5 percent in the national income represents the general index of the development of Poland's economic situation in 1984. To achieve this index it is necessary to further increase production and progress in implementing the tasks of the conservation program and the government anti-inflation program. This means that there is a close connection between the possibilities for further increasing national income and the implementation of those programs.

Because the favorable balance of payments with the capitalist countries will have increased and the adverse balance of payments with the socialist countries will have decreased, according to present estimates the national income for distribution will increase more slowly than the gross national income.

Money and Flow of Goods

The balance between money and the flow of goods is of key importance for meeting social needs and for the correct performance of motivational mechanisms.

This balance continues to be affected by the insufficient increase in production and the flow of goods and services and by the simultaneous intensive efforts by a number of enterprises to increase wages.

Further increases in wages without corresponding production results would create unacceptable economic and social costs in 1984, as has been demonstrated by the effects of the processes that have been revealed in 1983.

This plan seeks to maintain and even to slightly increase real wages in 1984 compared with 1983, but this calls for closely relating wages to increases in production and labor productivity. We expect that the increase in wages may amount to about 17 percent in 1984 and would be made up of increases in wages on account of the 1983 decisions on such increases, transferred to 1984, on account of payments made from profits and factory funds for actual economic results, and on account of payments connected with increases in production and labor productivity in 1984. This increase in wages and the planned increase in the production of consumer goods will require an increase in prices of about 15 percent in 1984 in order to maintain the balance between money and the flow of consumer goods. This increase in prices will include the 1983 price decisions transferred to 1984.

The activities envisaged by the 1984 plan assumptions for the primary purpose of modifying economic reform mechanisms and of refining the instruments of the policy of "tight money" will be used to effect a close relation between wages and production results.

This will enable us to curb the inflation created this year. If the present high rate of wage increases continues next year and if production is increased by the planned 4.5-5.5 percent, the deficit of goods and services will amount to about Z500-600 billion and eliminating it will require price increases similar to those affected this year. Further differences in the material position of the individual groups of the population and deformations in economic reform mechanism would be a negative result of this.

Industrial Production, Resources, Structural Changes

The planned increase of 4.5-5.5 percent in industrial production in 1984 as compared with 1983 is a result of the analysis of our resources of manpower and materials and the expected imports of producer goods. The still inadequate progress in reducing the

material intensiveness of production makes it impossible to adopt higher indicators of industrial production increases. It should be stressed in this connection that before the planned production increase is achieved, it is necessary to lower the material intensiveness of production by 2-2.5 percent in 1984, which is much more than what we will achieve this year.

The supply situation of basic raw and other materials will vary in 1984.

The supply of chemical fertilizers, lignite, heating oil, polyvinyl chloride, natural and synthetic rubber, tires, particle boards, sodium hydroxide, soda ash, sulfur, synthetic fibers, and wool will greatly increase -- over 5 percent compared with 1983.

The supply of electric energy, cold rolled metal sheets, aluminium, polyethylene, polypropylene, cement, lumber, paper, cardboard, cotton, rawhides, and paper cellulose will increase moderately -- up to 5 percent more than in 1983.

The supply of bituminious coal, natural gas, coke, rolled goods, piping, zinc metal sheets, rods, copper, zinc, lead, tin, and viscose cellulose will be stabilized, that is, will continue at the 1983 level.

The present structural changes for improvised activities in this regard are limited. More crucial changes in the structure of production call for investment expenditures and considerable hard currency funds to pay for imports of modern machinery and technologies. The 1984 prospects for more effective activities to effect structural changes appear to be favorable.

The present production structure is being shaped to a great extent under the pressure of the "equal" distribution of producer goods and manufacturing materials, which in some branches of production is resulting in consolidating the present structures. Overcoming such tendencies calls for comprehensive measures both in the sphere of the state's direct influence and in the sphere of modifying the economic-fiscal system. Within the framework of these measures it is necessary to distinguish between:

1) working out and implementing the structural change program, which includes the selected groups of goods whose production will be suitably promoted, stabilized, or phased out;

2) introducingdifferentiated norms of dividing the sinking fund between enterprises and the budget;

3) exploiting government orders and credit and taxation policy, as well as other instruments for the purpose of structural changes;

4) strengthening priorities for the production of consumer and export goods.

Food Economy

The 1984 plan assumptions provide for halting the present backward trends in livestock breeding and for increasing the number of hogs by 1-1.5 million hogs. For breeding reasons the results of this increase will not be obvious in procurement and in the flow of food until the second half of 1984 and in the years thereafter. It is planned that the procurement of animals should amount to 1.6-1.65 million tons of slaughtered animals, which means that the drop in procurement and the subsequent drop in the flow of food articles to the shops will amount to 60,000-110,000 tons compared with 1983.

This makes it necessary to reduce non-rationed meat and smoked meat, especially in catering and refreshment kiosks in order to maintain the present meat and smoked meat rations.

To maintain these rations we will also have to reduce meat exports in 1984 compared with the quotas laid down by the National Socioeconomic Plan, and to reduce meat stocks. We will also work out and implement a program for a faster production of poultry.

The 1984 plan assumptions state that grain imports will amount to 3-3.5 million tons. This figure is based on the favorable grain yields this year, but it must be clearly realized that in view of the threats to our payments situation and the changing situation in the world markets (including increases in grain prices) higher grain imports will not be possible.

Foreign Trade

The 1984 plan assumptions provide for further development of economic integration and trade with the socialist countries, especially the USSR. It is expected that the increase in exports to the socialist countries will amount to about 13 percent and in imports to about 14.5 percent. Next year's crucial task as this year's, will be to exploit the adverse balance of payments planned for by the National Socioeconomic Plan. The fraternal countries have agreed to such a balance.

The basic task relating to our economic relations with the capitalist countries is to halt the growth of our debts to them and then to start reducing these debts. This calls for an ever increasing favorable balance of payments with these countries in the coming years in order to eliminate increases in the interest we owe. However, this will be a great burden for our entire economy, which means that our national income for distribution will have to be smaller than the gross national income. This will reduce consumption and living standards.

In 1984 the level of impots from the capitalist countries will depend directly on the flow of hard currencies earned by us in the capitalist countries. This situation forces us to devise exacting export tasks in the case of the capitalist countries. Since it is impossible to further increase the export of raw materials, we must intensify the export of highly refined goods, above all electroengineering goods. We must also increase the export of other goods.

The 1984 plan assumptions in the field of trade with the capitalist countries include alternatives whose choice depends on that growth of exports which is more feasible:

Alternative one provides for a 16.6-percent increase in exports compared with 1983, which will enable us to increase imports by 10.6 percent to ensure the necessary import of grains and feed, as well as of producer and manufacturing goods necessary to increase industrial production by 5.5 percent.

Alternative two provides for a 10.3-percent increase in exports compared with 1983, which will enable us to increase imports by only 2.4 percent and which will create large difficulties for the necessary import of grains and feed, will reduce the flow of producer goods for industry and the upsurge of industrial production, and will aggravate difficulties in providing liquid fuels for the national economy.

We propose to adopt alternative one, but this calls for considerable militancy and exploitation of all reserves to promote the export of goods and services.

Investments and Housing Construction

The 1984 plan assumptions envisage that overall investment outlays in the national economy should amount to Zl.16 trillion. This amount is consistent with the 1984 estimates of the National Socioeconomic Plan, taking into account the movement of prices and the increase in production costs.

If this level of investment outlay is exceeded, we will be unable to maintain the proportions of the distribution of the national income as provided for by the National Socioeconomic Plan. Giving in to pressure from some departments, voivodship authorities, and enterprises to increase the level of investments would result in lower consumption and would amount to accepting the inflationary results of increased investments.

Only a faster increase in the national income will make it possible to more actively renew our fixed assets, especially those in those branches of production that are preferred for the benefit of the population and to liquidate the increasing technological gap.

The 1984 task of investment policy is to improve the effectiveness of investments and to counter uncontrolled increases in them. The present scattering of the investment program is conducive to the production of inflation money.

We plan to construct 190,000-200,000 apartments. What is especially important is to ensure that needs are coordinated with construction potential. This applies in particular to large industrial conurbations, in some of which apartment construction has been lower than in previous years and plans have not been fulfilled. The overfulfillment of housing construction tasks countrywide aggravates the problem of disproportion between the development of this construction and the development of communal infrastructure. One of the assumptions of the 1984 plan is to further invigorate the housing construction sponsored by factories. Government decisions have created favorable conditions for this construction. Individual housing construction supported by the population's own funds should also increase.

Social Policy

Social benefits, mainly pensions, annuities, grants, compensation for family members, health benefits, welfare benefits, school benefits, cultural benefits, and so on accounted on average for 15 percent of the national income for distribution in the seventies. In the eighties, under the conditions of the lowered national income, these benefits account for over 27 percent of the national income.

This illustrates the social cost of the policy that prefers health protection, education, culture, and compensation for the poorest groups of the population -- large families and pensioners. This is because rescuing the economy by reducing social benefits -- such reductions are normally used by many governments in conditions of crisis -- cannot be reconciled with the socialist political principles.

It is expected that in 1984 the expenditure on social benefits will amount to Z812 billion. This expenditure includes, among other things, funds to implement the second stage of up-grading pensions and annuities. Budgetary expenditures on social and cultural facilities will increase 19 percent.

The increase in benefits is necessary because of a large increase in children of preschool and school age (by 160,000) and of pensioners (by 390,000). It is expected that the average pension will amount to Z7,200 in 1984.

In line with the 3-year plan, the number of hospital beds, places in social assistance homes, in nurseries, in daycare centers, and in boarding houses, as well as the number of classrooms in primary schools will be increased.

These improvements could be larger if repair facilities could be improved in order to prevent the elimination of the objects of the social infrastructure from use. The scale of these improvements also depends on good management and the correct utilization of funds provided for the activities of schools, hospitals, cultural centers, recreation facilities, and so on.

To ensure the availability of medicines, sanitary products, and basic medical equipment for the population, it is proposed to produce them under government orders. It is also expected that activities to ensure a rational use of these items and to prevent their waste will be intensified.

In line with the 1984 plan assumptions, 1984 will be another year of a considerable increase in the production of books. This year's production of 187 million books will go up to 200-206 million books next year.

The present principle of free books for pupils will stay in force. Benefits resulting from the Teacher's Charter, the National Culture Fund, and so on will be implemented.

In view of the difficult conditions for achieving the 1984 plan tasks the adoption of the aforementioned development of social benefits means that the national economy is faced with a considerable commitment and that further increases in these benefits are impossible unless the assumptions concerning the increase in material production and national income are exceeded when these benefits are implemented.

The assumptions of the 1984 Central Economic Plan indicate that 1984 will be another year of efforts to overcome the results of the crisis. These assumptions envisage that the following results will be achieved:

-- national income produced will increase 3.5 percent;

-- industrial production will increase 4.5-5.5 percent;

-- agricultural production will increase 1.4-1.8 percent;

-- further improvements in the favorable balance of trade with the capitalist countries will be achieved in the amount of about Z180 billion, that is, $2 billion;

-- some 190-200,000 apartments will be constructed, which will be about 10,000 apartments more than provided for by the 1984 indicators of the National Socioeconomic Plan;

-- the level of investment outlays will be maintained in line with the National Socioeconomic Plan, the structure of these outlays will be improved, and the investment program will be streamlined.

These assumptions are consistent with the provisions of the National Socioeconomic Plan and are even better in some regards.

The general indicators for 1984 economic development, such as the increase in national income and industrial production, are high under present conditions, which is all the more worth stressing since the Polish economy will achieve this increase under the circumstances of considerable burdens created by our foreign debts.

Presenting these assumptions of the 1984 plan for public consultations, we expect that our people will not only submit their evaluations and proposals for possible changes, but that they will also be helped by these assumptions in understanding the economic and social aspects of our present economic situation.

TRYBUNA LUDU ARTICLE ON PRIVATE INDUSTRY

AU041200 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 83 pp 3-4

[Article by Krzysztof Krauss and Jan Markusz: "The Private Sector: Myths, Facts, and Needs"]

[Text] There have been quite a few voices recently expressing concern over the situation of the unsocialized sector of our economy. This means of course the non-agricultural part of this sector. The question being asked at party and union meetings among the industrial workers class and also in letters to the editor is: Does the development of the non-agricultural private sector not clash with the principles of socialism?

People are disgusted by cases where some representatives of this sector ruthlessly exploit the country's difficult economic situation in order to get rich quickly, and cases where fortunes are spent on operations which -- to put it plainly -- are difficult to regard as completely honest and fully legal. However, this is not the only reason behind the doubts and perplexity.

Growth or Overgrowth?

Industry and the remaining divisions of the socialized economy are making a huge effort to reestablish production at its pre-crisis level. These efforts have already brought visible results for 12 or so months: For example, by the end of September this year, production by socialized industry had exceeded last year's production during the same period of time by 8.2 percent. Even so, this production is lower than it was in 1980 and much lower than it was in 1979.

In many industrial branches 70-80 percent of the industrial potential is being used and it seems as if some plants are only using 50-60 percent. Third shifts, and in many enterprises second shifts as well, are disappearing. There is a shortage of people and raw materials. In this situation the question is asked: Since there is a comparative excess of production potential in the socialized sector, what is the point of "reinforcing" the private sector with cadres and raw materials?

And another issue: Real wages of employees in the socialized economy have dropped by about one-quarter this year. It is true that the drop in real wages has been generally halted this year, but even so the level of real wages is the level we had 10 years ago. And again the question: How do wages of socialized employees compare to wages in private workshops? Has it not reached the stage where the entire cost of the crisis is being heaped onto the shoulders of the workers class, employees of the socialized economy?

Before we attempt to answer these questions, let us see what is contained in the concept "non-agricultural non-socialized sector."

According to the Main Statistical Office, in 1982 there were almost 408,000 plants in the entire non-agricultural non-socialized economy, employing almost 762,000 people. There were 34,800 more plants and over 67,700 more employees than in the previous year.

This large growth in employment in the private non-agricultural sector over such a short period of time is primarily due to the implementation of two Council of Ministers resolutions: Resolution No 112 from the second half of 1981 which initiated -- on the basis of the "three S's" [self-financing, self-sufficiency, and self-management] -- a reform throughout the whole of small-scale production and Resolution No 169 from the same year concerning additional benefits for employees in socialized factories who change their jobs.

The number of tradesmen's [rzemiesnik] workshops increased most of all last year -- by as much as 23,000. More private shops and eating establishments also appeared (these increased by about 5,700). However, the number of shops and workshops operated by franchise [ajencyjny] decreased. These -- if one omits the news stands -- have fallen from about 50,000 in 1980 to about 31,000 this year. This large drop is not only the result of the situation with supplies, but also the result of society's criticism directed at those who preyed on the market difficulties and made themselves rich at the expense of their customers. This has forced the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services to withdraw the principle whereby enterprises have the duty to operate small shops, service outlets, and eating establishments by franchise. Contracts with franchise holders have been reviewed and it has been made compulsory to keep accurate records on turnover, profit margins, and costs.

The number of Polonian firms is rising fast. In 1981 there were 117 such firms, in 1982, 258, and this year there has been a dramatic growth both in the number of tradesmen's workshops and in the number of Polonian firms. Twenty five thousand new workshops and 120 Polonian firms have appeared up to the end of August, which is regarded as a record.

Are we therefore facing excessive growth in the non-agricultural non-socialized sector? Let us use the following comparison:

In Poland there are 8.3 tradesmen's workshops for every 1,000 inhabitants. In Hungary there are 11.7 such workshops per 1,000 inhabitants. The GDR does not publish accurate figures on this subject, but it is generally noticeable and one can estimate that the situation in the GDR with regard to workshops is closer to Hungary than Poland.

For Example: Trades

Because of the starving market, recent years have brought the need to activate small-scale industry, including trades. The development goals and tasks of trades were laid down in 1980 during a joint PZPR Central Committee Politburo and SD Presidium meeting. Two years later the Sejm, in the law on trades, guaranteed trades a permanent place in the socialist economic system.

If today we have a total of 290,000 workshops in the country employing 530,000 people (including 72,000 apparentices), this is without any doubt the result of the policy of the authorities which encourages trades. At present they are achieving a turnover of Z260 billion, of which Z155 billion is the value of services and Z105 billion the value of production. Over 50 percent of the services provided to the population comes from trades.

The trades face serious tasks in serving rural inhabitants and farmers. Right now, there are almost 93,000 workshops active in rural areas. However, this is still not enough for rural needs. New work places are appearing most often in large urban conurbations such as Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Lodz, and least of all in typically agricultural regions, which are the least endowed with facilities of this sort, such as Lomza, Leszno, and Konin Voivodships. Regional authorities together with trade associations should draw practical conclusions from this.

Great potential exists for producing food and -- in cooperation with industry -- simple agricultural implements, parts, and accessories for agricultural vehicles, and medical equipment, especially when production is based on local raw materials. The trades are already producing 18 percent of the bread sold in the country, providing 60-70 percent of all building services, especially in rural areas, and 30 percent of the powdered animal feed and industrial grease is produced by them.

The above market production and services, and cooperation with industry, especially when it comes to the use of local by-products, should be increased.

Greater Profits -- Greater Taxes

Until recently, or to be more exact until the end of 1981, the trades enjoyed liberal taxation rules. According to data from the Main Statistical Office, only Z6.5 billion in taxes was paid out of Z113.4 billion worth of turnover. In the meantime, conditions have changed radically. Council of Ministers Resolution No 112 gave tradesmen's shops and other units of small-scale production the right to fix their own prices. In addition, the cost of goods and services provided by trades also went up last year because of the general reform of the wholesale and retail prices of food and industrial articles. The need arose to make taxes reflect production. As a result tradesmen paid Z14.8 billion in profits tax, income tax, and treasury fees last year out of Z214.2 billion worth of turnover, according to the data of the Main Statistical Office.

In accordance with the laws passed by the Sejm, uniform taxation rules have been in force since August this year. Before then, most private production and service establishments paid a profits tax of 6 percent. Now this tax amounts to 10 percent in respect to production and 5 percent in respect to services and trade.

There is a considerable difference in the amount of tax actually payable, depending on the social importance of the goods being produced or the services being provided. In the case of bakeries, for example, the amount of tax is barely 1 percent; in the case of the manufacture of wheels and orthopedic services, it is 2 percent; but with engraving it is 20 percent, and with jewellers and goldsmiths it is 30 percent. It is, quite simply, that the most essential areas of production and services should enjoy tax privileges.

Concerning income tax, the most important feature is that the tax-free allowance has been raised from Z72,000 to Z160,000 per year. The scale of taxation has been changed at the same time. Income in excess of the tax-free allowance is taxed at 20 percent if the excess income is Z30,000, and at 80 percent if the excess income is Z960,000. Exceeding the tax-free allowance by over Z4 million, however, results in a tax of 85 percent.

Of course, tax concessions are still accorded: when investment outlay is increased (tax concessions up to 50 percent), when a plant is set in motion (concessions granted from time to time), and when exports are increased.

The new tax system, which according to the Ministry of Finance will be characterized by stability, is meant to encourage the activity of small- and medium-size plants in particular, yet is meant to make it less possible for so-called sharks to amass easy profits through tougher controls. This is one of the prerequisites for enabling fiscal offices to "discover" the real profit margins of individual tradesmen.

A good majority of the tradesmen's workshops in Poland consist of 1 or 2 persons. Last year the average value of goods sold per workshop amounted to Z700,000, of which a very large part was swallowed up by the purchase of materials. A considerable part of the above figure is needed to purchase fixed assets. For example, a tradesman pays Z450,000 to Z700,000 for a lathe, equipment to run a laundry costs Z3-4 million, a medium-size bakery costs Z8-9 million to equip, and a brickworks costs Z15-20 million to equip. To these are added electricity and gas bills, rent, union dues, and of course tax. What is left has to suffice for maintaining oneself and one's family.

Unfortunately there is a lack of even the scantiest of data concerning the material situation of families whose source of existence is provided by activity in the non-agricultural non-socialized economic sector. So far, not a single ministry or trade union involved with the activity of the private sector has taken the initiative to

retain their material situation, and yet the number of people involved here, being members of the families of employees in the trades, amounts to about 2 million. The Main Statistical Office is not making this examination either. One can only assume that the material situation of these families varies a lot, just as it does in private farming.

The lack of data on this subject is making it very difficult to conduct a proper taxation, credits, concessions, and social benefits policy toward this sector of our economy. Maybe the result of this lack of proper policy is in some cases the existence of unjustified privileges, and in other cases discrimination against some groups of handicrafts and other spheres of production needed by the economy. That the above is not merely theoretical thinking is illustrated, for example, by the huge differences in the number of apprentices preparing themselves for a trade. For example, trades involved with transportation (mechanics, body repair work, body spraying, and so on) were training 13,683 apprentices in 1982, and yet there were only 207 apprentices in glass manufacture, 2 in the manufacture of ceramics for building purposes, 3 in the agricultural back-up services, and so on.

Inside Polonian Firms

Uniform taxation rules also apply to Polonian firms according to the recent Sejm laws, just as they do to handicrafts and to private trade and services. However, attention has to be drawn to significant differences concerning Polonian firms.

Polonian firms may be exempted from income tax for a period of 3 years provided they allocate at least one-third of their income earned during this period on investments. The purpose of this is quite simply to avoid encouraging Polonian firms to "change their line of business," but instead to encourage them to invest their own funds in their own development, and hence to become more productive. At the same time it has been made compulsory for Polonian firms to transfer 50 percent of their export income to the Polish foreign currency bank.

Polonian firms are granted tax concessions according to the following principles: if they produce goods to combat imports, they are granted a tax concession of 20 percent; if they manufacture medical equipment, plant chemicals and fodder, it is 10 percent; and if they increase their investment outlay the concession is 50 percent.

The total amount of taxes paid by Polonian firms is increasing together with their incomes and profits. In 1981 these firms paid Z0.4 billion in taxes out of turnover worth Z3.1 billion. Last year, however, they paid over Z3 billion in tax out of turnover worth Z17.7 billion. In the first half of this year, they paid somewhat more than Z2 billion in profits and income tax out of sales worth almost Z19 billion.

The Scale of the Reshuffle of Cadres

The question of the earnings of employees in Polonian firms has raised a lot of controversy. Factory directors (including those in the light industry) go as far as to say that these firms are "buying" people away from their factories.

It is estimated that in Polonian firms, average wages are about twice as high as for similar posts in state industry (there are no accurate data on this subject), yet at the same time productivity in these firms is three times as high as it is in socialized factories. However, it is worth drawing attention to the scale of the "competition" that private firms, Polonian ones included, are creating for state industry.

Polonian firms involve small-scale production. The average value of production for every Polonian firm in 1982 was Z82 million, whereas the average employment level in them was 46-47 persons in each firm, most of them women. Last year the average value of production for every state enterprise -- this concerns industry -- was Z2 billion and the average employment level was 1,400 persons per enterprise.

The entire private trades industry, which is included in the category "industry," employed 331,719 persons in 1982 (this figure also included the owners of workshops and their families, but excludes apprentices), whereas Polonian firms employed 12,000 people. This is barely 6.6 percent of the employment level in socialized industry during the same period of time, and as far as Polonian firms are concerned, the employment level in them was 0.26 percent of the employment level in the entire state and cooperative industry.

The percentage of the employment level in the private "industrial sector" compared to the employment level in socialized industry, in other words, the growth of this percentage from 5.3 percent in 1980 to 6.6 percent in 1982, is worth supplementing by means of the following information: If productivity in the socialized industry were at the same level today as it was in 1980, socialized industry could achieve the level of production it has today with an employment level of over a dozen percent less than it has at present.

If the organization of production in state factories, which good professionals are leaving to join Polonian firms or trades workshops (once again there is a lack of proper data on this subject), were to create the possibility of a threefold rise in productivity in these factories, it is not at all certain which sector, the private one or the state one, would offer the most attractive employment conditions and it is not clear in which direction the flow of employment would travel -- from state firms to private ones, or vice versa.

Where Do We Get Our Raw Materials and Who Are They For?

Since the basic reasons behind the inadequate exploitation of the socialized industry's potential is, aside from the shortage of labor, the lack of raw materials, then what is the sense of "reinforcing" private enterprise with raw materials?

This is a very complex issue and one that has various implications.

As far as Polonian firms are concerned, they should, according to the plan, make extensive use of our own market resources, that is, of the imports that they should pay for with their exports earnings. In this way their activities would not burden the country's food supply balance-sheet.

In the meantime the Supreme Chamber of Control has drawn our attention to the fact that this plan has not been implemented. For example, exports have so far been a fringe interest to the firms that sent scarcely 3 percent of their production abroad during the first 6 months of the year and the contributions that their self-financed imports make to the total supply of raw and other materials is also small. During the first 6 months of 1983, these firms spent $6,554,000 on raw and other materials, which means that after translating this sum into zlotys, the contribution made by the so-called foreign-exchange boost to the total value of the sale was scarcely 3 percent. This is considerably less than the foreign-exchange intensiveness of supplies to socialized industry, and makes one suspect that it is not Polonian firms that support the state by solving the problem of supplying the socialized industries that require a foreign-exchange outlay, but that it is the state that helps out Polonian firms, at least partially, with their imports difficulties.

One cannot, on the other hand, count on the fact, and this is understandable, that trades whose "operational field" is the national market and which should, above all, serve the people, will in some miraculous way have earned enough foreign-exchange funds themselves to be able to import raw and other materials. Tradesmen buy raw and other materials through Pewex for about $1 million per annum, as well as several hundred dollars worth of certain materials, components, or equipment through Ramex, their own exports-imports office.

It should be stressed that only a few percent of the raw material supplies to the trades come from central or voivodship-based "distributors," while almost 95 percent comes from our own so-called market penetration. In practice this simply means that supplies are bought from a semi-starved market. This is, for many reasons, an unhealthy situation, and one that needs to be normalized.

The aim of market penetration is also to obtain redundant supplies and the technological waste that occurs in "big industry." It was the trades alone that paved the way for the use of local and waste materials. Now, in the face of the increasing shortage of raw materials, our key industries are also beginning to draw more and more on these resources. But the chances of exploiting local and waste materials are still considerable in Poland and they involve waste from agriculture, minerals, industrial refuse, glass, steel, colored metals, and a whole range of chemical materials and substances. Given the right kind of cooperation between key industries and the trades, we could still save many essential raw materials for the production of market goods, agriculture, and housing construction.

The entire needs of trades for raw materials, unfinished goods, and the like, can be estimated at between one and two hundred billion zlotys per annum, or less than this. Socialized industry, on the other hand, especially the so-called big industry, uses raw and other materials to the value of Z3.9 trillion and about Z4.3 trillion if we include the construction industry. This is the ratio and it would appear that it does not justify the thesis that the private sector is depriving the socialized economy of its "access to raw materials."

Whose pockets are the goods from our "boutiques" intended to suit? Who needs these goods? Are not too many enterprises gearing their production toward making goods for the rich?

Indeed, some of the goods being made by handicraft industries, and surely a large part of the goods produced by foreign and Polonian firms, are not intended for those who only read about the "inflationary curve" in the papers but are for those who have this "curve" at their disposal. This does not concern a large part of the public, but it does concern some. It appears from some estimates that are deemed quite likely by certain experts, that the highest sums comprising this "curve" are at the disposal of about 10 percent of the public.

Through the Prism of General Needs

Standard commodities are necessary in the view of the masses but not in the opinion of our considerably "elite." Is only the socialized sector supposed to supply them? If shop shelves were full and we had the chance to choose our goods, then I am sure that even a larger range of "boutique"-type goods on the market would not have caused so much heated emotion. But this is not how it is. The market continues to be impoverished despite a certain improvement, especially with regard to non-edible goods. If, therefore, we speak of the need to make structural changes in our industry for the good of the market, agriculture, and food economy, as well as exports, then it should concern not only the socialized sector but also the private sector. It is true that some Polonian firms have contracted to produce things like storage batteries, hypodermic syringes, blood-transfusion equipment, artificial fertilizers, and even disposable diapers for babies. However, these attempts have so far been too faint-hearted, for the profit criterion should not overshadow the social needs criterion.

We should expect the trades to show more initiative in satisfying the people's basic needs. It is even a good thing that, according to the report of the Central Union of Crafts, there is a falling demand for souvenirs and so-called luxury goods as a result of high prices. This will force some of the owners of the workshops producing these goods to change to the kind of production and services that are really essential. The new fiscal regulations were, after all, introduced to bring about a more preferable

kind of handicrafts production and services. However, it all depends on regional authorities which should, above all, support the kind of workshops that help to develop a market and service production that uses local raw materials and is essential to the people.

The whole of small-scale production, not only the private sector, is responsible, according to the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, for barely 8.6 percent of market supplies. However, the contribution that small-scale production makes to the global value of production amounts to about 5 percent in Poland, while in France it is about 7 percent, 11 percent in the FRG, about 20 percent in the Netherlands, and even about 30 percent in the GDR, although, of course, in the case of the latter, this includes not only private trades, but also small-scale production from the state and cooperative sectors. Our trades bring in scarcely 3.1 percent of the nation's market supplies, and Polonian firms are responsible for 0.3 percent of this.

A Part of the Economy

It appears from this that the main burden of market supply is carried by socialized industry, aside from agriculture, of course. This non-agricultural private sector is still only performing a supplementary role despite the fact that it has been making a significantly dynamic development. Its contribution to material production, services, and trade is still smaller than countries like the GDR or Hungary and it is also too meager for its needs. It is, therefore, neither a "threat" nor an "alternative" to the socialized economy. The fact is, however, that there is no shortage of unfavorable phenomena in private enterprise that must be consistently combated. This demands not only a sense of social justice but also the need to establish a good name for trades, Polonian firms, franchised establishments, and private shops. An establishment for curing fish or a motor repair workshop do no harm to socialism. However, every manifestation of double-dealing that occurs in the non-socialized sector, as well as in firms belonging to the state or cooperative sector, is harmful because it takes place at the expense of the people.

Trades or other areas of private sector small-scale production are not enclaves. They are a natural part of the socialist economy that have many (although still too few) connections with all of industry, agriculture, the food economy, and the construction industry because they satisfy daily needs.

Private small-scale production should be showing more initiative, especially now that we are emerging from the crisis, in increasing production and services. However, it must be the kind of sector that supports the achievements of the basic social goals that stem from the National Socioeconomic Plan and not one that works [illegible] of this. Neither must it be an unjustified source that creates disproportion in the material situation of certain groups of people because the general principle that the source of personal incomes in a socialist country is not capital, but work, its benefit to society, its productivity, and effectiveness, should be applied to this sector.

The administrative and economic mechanisms that are at the state's disposal also serve to implement this basic principle. The policy of permitting the activities of unsocialized enterprises is subject to definite economic and social needs, as well as the development of the production of the most essential market goods and services.

The same goal that guides the principles of the new fiscal system and favors the development of the small- and medium-size workshops that satisfy the people's most essential needs, must at the same time present obstacles that offend [illegible] sense of social justice with regard to the phenomenon of producers amassing large fortunes at the expense of their customers.

TRYBUNA LUDU ARTICLE ON CONTROLLING PROFITEERS

AU041550 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct 83 pp 3-4

[Zdzislaw Miewola article: "At the Expense of Society"]

[Excerpts] The phenomenon of excessive profiteering has become a social problem in Poland. A group of millionaires has even come into existence. They possess huge fortunes, unattainable by most people, the extent of which can certainly not be justified by the amount of work put in.

In the first half of 1983 militia groups together with bodies of state control -- above all the Supreme Chamber of Control, the State Trade Inspectorate, and taxation offices -- discovered 261 people in this category. One hundred and twenty-four of them were arrested and found guilty of fiscal offenses worth a total of Z368 million.

Most of them are owners of private production enterprises and service institutions and shops but there are also taxi drivers and franchise holders. They become rich by keeping their earnings a secret from the taxation authorities, and also as a result of speculation, illegal foreign currency dealings, and misappropriation of social property.

It sometimes happens that fortunes of millions are created "in majesty of the law," sometimes legally. This has been discouraged, by the rather far-reaching uniformity of the tax rate which has made it possible for some private producers, tradesmen, and owners of service institutions to achieve high incomes not justified by the amount of work put in and causing justified sharp criticism by society.

The lack of market equilibrium and the shortage of goods in many areas, especially industrial ones, are a source of considerable profits by means of speculation in the private sector in cities. For example, footwear and clothing costs two or three times as much in private shops as in socialized shops, and sometimes even more. This also applies to a range of other durable goods. For example, a watering can costs about Z350 in a socialized shop, but there is a chronic shortage of these. However, a watering can is readily found in a private shop, where it will cost over four times as much, in other words Z1,560.

In the light of the above facts, it would be worth examining and estimating the real size of the income and profits earned by private entrepreneurs. It may turn out that the real earnings are two or three times higher than represented by statistics.

The Polonian firms constitute a separate problem. Checks carried out in the second half of 1982 have shown that these enterprises have earned excessive and unjustified incomes, mainly by fixing high prices for their products and services and by making excessive purchases of materials from domestic producers at relatively low prices. These companies often achieve profits that exceed their costs by two or three times. This also allows these firms to pay their employees very high wages. The taxes paid by these firms have not been commensurate with their profits.

The above socially and economically unfavorable phenomena have been growing for a long time. One basic conclusion emerges from an analysis of them. It is essential to reform the taxation system and amend many legal regulations connected with taxation.

In accordance with a Government Presidium decision, the minister of finance introduced on 1 February 1983 the obligation to keep records of the sales and some of the costs of taxpayers running large scale economic activities and paying a uniform rate of tax, as part of the improvements in the system of keeping tax records.

Negative phenomena in the activity of the Polonian companies have resulted in changes in the tax regulations applicable to these firms up to now. As of 1 January 1984, these firms' incomes will be subject to the same rate of tax as the incomes of the handicrafts industries. In addition, these companies have been exempted from paying profits tax for a period of 3 years provided that they use at least one-third of the income earned during this period for purposes of investment. On 1 August 1983 the rate of income tax payable by these firms was made equal to the tax rate payable in the socialized economy. The full implementation of these regulations will enable the negative phenomena in this area to be eliminated.

The practical implementation of the recently issued tax regulations, both concerning records of turnover and records of costs, plus the new organizational structure of the fiscal apparatus in the form of fiscal chambers and officers, will make for an actual increase in taxation discipline and the elimination of cases of excessive profiteering at society's cost.

RZECZPOSPOLITA REPORTS URBAN'S 25 OCT CONFERENCE

AU041417 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Oct 83 p 3

[Press conference given by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 25 October]

[Text] [Urban] I wanted to apologize for not keeping my promise. I promised that after the Berlin CEMA session, someone would come and provide you with information. I have tried to get hold of Deputy Premier Madej, Poland's permanent CEMA representative, but, unfortunately, it was impossible for the premier to come because of other engagements. The premier does say that he may come to a conference devoted to broader affairs: Poland and CEMA. We will hold such a conference in the immediate future.

Tomorrow morning, 26 October, the party-state delegation from the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee is arriving on an official visit. The delegation has been invited by the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers.

This visit is an important event in the life of Poland and we expect it will strengthen Polish-Hungarian friendship and tighten cooperation. Janos Kadar is an eminent personality in the international workers movement; he is also a statesman to whom the overwhelming majority of Polish society accords great respect and personal warm feelings. Therefore interest in the visit is very great in Poland.

You will obtain information on the course of the visit at the INTERPRESS Center, probably during the second day of the visit.

I wanted to clarify several pieces of false information emanating from Warsaw recently. It seems to me that Mr Bremer from the FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE ZEITUNG has exceeded the limits of probability in distorting the truth. An article appeared in the 20 October FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE ZEITUNG entitled "Fear of a Spiral of Concessions; Many Poles Believe the West Must Remain Hard in its Anger." I have quoted the title. In this article Mr Bremer describes the moods among Polish society and states that a new war is expected that could improve the country's present "difficult lot." This statement is supported by an entire treatise to the effect that the war policy -- the anger of the West, as he puts it -- together with an uncompromising attitude toward the East, enjoy the support of Polish society.

In this connection I wish to say that the political views among Polish society are varied. There are also people who would like a change in the system and in the authorities; they have other ideas about a perfect government and good authorities. But I have never anywhere come across views that are in favor of a war in order to

change the system in Poland, and I have never encountered expectation for war. In the light of all the knowledge I possess on the subject of Polish society's moods and views, including those of the opposition, I can say that these reports are false. Or maybe they reflect some mental disorders of insane persons.

A correspondent from the French agency AFP has reported that a group of officers has begun to oppose the politics of the PPR authorities. Here I refer to an anonymous unsigned letter, published as the letter says, in a periodical belonging to a social defense committee. This is some underground organism. I imagine there are many periodicals of this sort. One of them has carried an unsigned letter, and this is supposed to be the basis for imagining that a group of Polish officers has opposed the politics of their government. The information itself is untrue and its source is quite simply ridiculous. There is some kind of standard against which the credibility of information can be measured. I wish to protest against presenting alleged news this way. News like this based on a source like this can appear in any country in the world, with the words that an unknown underground periodical has emerged in which some people or other have expressed some views or other. From the point of view of the art of journalism, such a source of news is quite simply ridiculous.

The BBC has presented false information by saying that people who do not join the Union of Polish Writers will lose their food ration coupons and their compensation. This is not true. Food ration coupons are issued by the office of the superintendent which will issue these coupons to all professional writers until June 1984. After that date, the issue of coupons, payment of compensation, and settlement of other social security matters will be dealt with by another institution. I wish to emphasize that in no way has the issue of ration coupons and all other welfare matters of this kind anything to do with access to the new writers union. News to this effect is an illusion based on false information. That is all I have to say, and now please let us have some questions.

[Sylvia Odoriz from EFE] A statement has appeared concerning the wife of an activist in an underground organization, Zbigniew Janas, about the fact that she was mistreated and beaten during interrogation at a Warsaw militia office. Could you say something about this issue? Her mistreatment was meant to force her to reveal Zbigniew Janas' whereabouts.

[Urban] The minister of international affairs has received Mrs Bogumila Janas's complaint that she was beaten. This complaint against the activity of the Warsaw Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs is presently the subject of investigation. I do not know the results, but I will provide information when the investigation finishes.

[Sylvia Odoriz] The Soviet Union has said that preparations have commenced for deploying missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Has the Government of the Soviet Union consulted with the Polish Government on the eventuality of deploying these installations on Polish soil?

[Urban] Yes. These issues have been discussed within the Warsaw Pact. Consultations have been held and are still going on about all matters connected with strengthening the defense systems of the Warsaw Pact nations in the fact of the growing danger steming from the NATO countries' armaments measures.

[Sylvia Odoriz] In this connection, do you believe that equipment of this sort will also be deployed in Poland?

[Urban] If Mrs Odoriz were to read the communique from the defense ministers' meeting, she would learn that preparations for the eventual deployment of missiles are being made on Czechoslovak and GDR soil.

[Gabor Miklosz from NEPSZABADSAG] Mr Minister, there is more or less 1 week of the amnesty left. How many persons active in the underground have taken advantage of it so far?

[Urban] Almost 500, I do not know the exact figure today. Apparently the figure was 475 yesterday, but I could be wrong by one or two persons.

[Michel Castex from AFP] Mr Minister, you have recently said during a press conference that the Polish underground numbers about 100 people. How do you explain the fact that 500 have come out into the open?

[Urban] When I gave this very loose figure, I had in mind persons who are in hiding, in other words those who are on the wanted list and it is not known where they are. However, those who do report are people living normally, only they have committed some offense and are giving information about these offenses. Therefore there is no discrepancy in the figures.

[Renate Marsch-Potocka from DPA] Mr Minister, did I understand correctly when you said that you do not rule out the possibility, or the Polish Government does not rule out the possibility, of the commencement of the deployment of tactical-operational missiles, as they have been described, in Poland as well as in Czechoslovakia and the GDR?

[Urban] The decisions on this subject concern the GDR and Czechoslovakia. I have already answered a similar question during a previous conference, saying that Poland is ready to contribute to the Warsaw Pact defense system in a way which will be the subject of talks inside the Warsaw Pact. There is nothing to speculate about here.

[Renate Marsch-Potocka] It was stated yesterday in the communique from the Government Presidium meeting that the sanctions applied by Western countries were discussed at this meeting. Hence my question. The communique contained a very laconic PAP remark that appropriate decisions have been made. Could you throw more light on this subject?

[Urban] No, I cannot.

[Michel Castex] Mr Minister, could you tell us something about the start of the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] trial? You said recently that it will start soon.

[Urban] I have nothing new to say that is important. On 28 September the prosecutor's office transferred the indictment in the case against the KOR activists to the court and on 8 October the indictment was presented to the accused's attorneys and to the accused themselves, asking them to give evidence. Adam Michnik and Wujec have already done so, and after asking for another look at the indictment, on 13 October the evidence given by them was positively dealt with. Michnik and Wujec have at their disposal an indictment valid up to 15 November. Right now, additional letters from the defense and from the accused containing extra evidence are flowing in. A date for the trial cannot be fixed as long as the accused are still acquainting themselves with the indictment.

[Renate Marsch-Potocka] Mr Minister, is a date for General Jaruzelski's visit to Moscow known yet?

[Urban] There has already been a meeting between Gen Jaruzelski and Premier Tikhonov. Other important high-level talks are planned. These serve as preparations for the visit about which you have asked. I have nothing new to say about a date for this visit. The RZECZPOSPOLITA transcript of the previous press conference contained a misprint. It said that the date has been fixed [ustalona], whereas I really said that it is being fixed [ustalana].

[Dag Halvorsen from Norwegian Radio and TV] A week ago, while reading a paper on my way to Warsaw, I discovered that there is no boycott on Norwegian, American, or West German music on Polish radio. Even so there has been a need to make certain, how should I call them, changes, adaptions, to the programs. Could you now tell me whether changes like this have now been discontinued? Although this is a relatively trivial matter compared to the other matters that have been dealt with today because it involves culture, could you still comment on the purpose of and justification for such measures, and also comment on -- the Peace Prize?

[Urban] You have not been reading your paper very carefully, because I said that deteriorating political relations between states result and will continue to result in deteriorating scientific and cultural relations as well. This was a general idea which I support. That is unfortunately the way it is. However, I was surprised at the subject of music, and I said that I hear American music on my radio. Yet somehow I have not noticed any Norwegian music for a long time. I do not know why, maybe it is not generally popular in Poland. I mean light music. I do not rule out the possibility of changes having been made to programs concerning musical content, since information on this has been spread. What I can say, however, is that the government has not ordered a ban on any kind of music on the state radio. As a radio listener, I can say that American music is played widely on the Polish radio. As a listener, I can say nothing about other music, about Norwegian, or West German music. This is also my answer to the question about the purpose and sense of these measures. We are quite simply speaking about something that is not a measure at all.

[Sylvia Odoriz] Mr Minister, do you know anything about Mr Walesa applying for a passport?

[Urban] No.

GUZ COMMENTS ON URBAN'S PRESS CONFERENCES

AU031236 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Oct 83 p 4

[Eugeniusz Guz commentary: "A Polish Event -- Press Conferences"]

[Text] We often lag behind European norms, certainly too often, although stressing this sad fact is something akin to masochism, for every country lags behind European or world norms in certain areas. However, we are ahead of other countries in other areas, often areas we are hardly aware of. Such an area, which is not insignificant in the light of the CSCE and the role played by the mass media in general, is the regular press conferences given by the PPR Government spokesman for foreign journalists. These are an event on an international scale, and I will soon justify this statement.

The custom of holding regular press conferences especially for foreign journalists is usually unknown both in the East and in the West, and joint press conferences -- for domestic journalists and for foreign ones -- are extremely rare. The regular meetings held by the press spokesmen of the French president or the British premier are usually limited to protocol communiques about planned talks or trips by politicians, and that is why they do not arouse any greater interest among journalists.

Most of the capital cities of the capitalist world do not know the custom of regular press conferences. An exception is the FRG, where the government press spokesman meets with domestic and foreign journalists once or twice a week, although correspondents from the socialist world have a very small opportunity to ask questions there. It is the same in the United States, where a journalist from the "communist bloc" regards it as the event of the year if he succeeds in asking a question and receiving a reply.

It is completely different in Poland in this respect. Foreign journalists take advantage of practically limitless possibilities to ask questions during conferences (not counting questions asked after the conferences). It is not only the very nature of the conferences with the government press spokesman that stands out against the practice of other countries. There is something that does not exist anywhere outside Poland -- I mean the extensive reports on these conferences that appear in the entire Polish press and on television, and, in particular, the transcripts of these conferences that appear regularly in RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Of course, no one in the West knows about this Polish event. It is almost unknown even to the journalists' community there because the West's information policy (there really is such a thing!) requires that this event be ignored according to the following principle: There is nothing good about our government.

I have attended several of these conferences at INTERPRESS. From the questions asked there, one could conclude that Polish affairs consist, above all, of KOR and of Solidarity from various periods of time. The range of interests presented by Western journalists during these conferences is very narrow. The same questions are asked at every conference to the point of boredom, and the government replies are often recorded in a fragmented manner, and, in addition, heavily distorted. If a Polish citizen wants to find out what kind of questions foreign journalists have asked and what kind of replies they have received, he will very seldom find this out from Polish language radio stations, but he will certainly find out from the Polish press.

The government spokesman has caught Western correspondents distorting what he has said more than once; yet appeals to correct the false information and appeals for just a little honesty in the future (the most recent example is the state's alleged anti-Church campaign) have no effect. Although these journalists are publicly ridiculed, they simply shrug it off for the following simple reason: The orders of the central authorities require that affairs be distorted, silenced, or invented.

Of course, not by a long shot does every journalist invent facts in his reports, but still the number of journalists doing so is sufficient to often give the press spokesman occasion to send correspondents working in the "free American" style to the corner. The documentary evidence of distortions of the truth during these meetings, which have not existed for long, is very rich.

Here is an example: The tragic death of Grzegorz Przemyk was pursued for months. But when it emerged that the prosecutor's office had blamed the death not only on two militiamen, but also on two members of the ambulance team, interest in the death disappeared automatically, and most journalists did not even add to their previous reports by pointing out the new development in the prosecutor's office's investigations. Of course, the Western press, which passed judgment on this matter immediately after the tragedy, ignoring the fact that investigations had only just started, wants to hide the fact that it has carelessly bandied about accusations from Western consumers.

The press conferences for foreign journalists are a very informative field of experience for all those interested in the functioning of the mass media.

FURTHER MATERIALS ON SFRY OFFICIAL VISIT

Spiljak Visits Bucharest Enterprise

AU041523 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1708 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/11/1983 -- On Friday morning, the president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mika Spiljak, and Stefica Spiljak visited the heavy machine-building enterprise in Bucharest.

On this visit, the Yugoslav president was accompanied by Petru Enache, vice-president of the State Council, and by other Romanian and Yugoslav officials.

Upon their arrival at the enterprise, the guests were welcomed by Gheorghe Pana, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council, by representatives of the local party and state bodies and executives of the relevant ministry and central.

The visit to the heavy machine-building enterprise in Bucharest enabled the distinguished messenger of the Yugoslav people to get directly acquainted with significant achievements in the machine-building industry of Romania, with a series of high-tech and highly efficient products meant for all branches of the national economy as well as for export. The hosts showed that adding to the equipment and installations manufactured there were the outfit for the future Romanian electric nuclear plants.

The visit to the most important sections offered President Mika Spiljak the opportunity to get acquainted with the wide range of products, with the highly technical equipment and highly professional training of the collectivity.

At the end of the visit, the Yugoslav president expressed his high consideration for the achievements scored by that industrous Bucharest working collectivity, and signed the enterprise visitors book.

The same day, Mika Spiljak and Stefica Spiljak paid a visit to the museum of history of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The guest's interest was aroused particularly by the exhibits illustrative of the activity carried on by the RCP and Romanian state leader for the steady socioeconomic development of Romania, for her rise on to new stages of progress and cilivization.

The guests were shown then Trajan's Column in the lapidarium, an exhibit of highly artistic and historic value which evokes the Romanian people's origin. Next, the guests saw exhibits mirroring significant moments in the Romanian people's millenary history.

Ceausescu, Spiljak Conclude Talks

AU041956 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/11/1983 -- On Friday afternoon, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Elena Ceausescu met again with Mika Spiljak, president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Stefica Spiljak.

In that framework, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Mika Spiljak expressed their full satisfaction at the productive results of the visit as well as their belief that the views exchanged and the understandings reached met the interests of Romania and Yugoslavia, giving a new and strong impetus to the collaboration between the two countries and peoples on multiple planes.

The two presidents assessed that the joint declaration provided a solid basis for the rise of the traditional relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between the two countries on to a higher stage, for an ever closer and more productive collaboration between Romania and Yugoslavia on a political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural planes as well as in other domains, for mutual interest, in the interests of peace and understanding in the Balkans, Europe and the world over.

Leaders Sign Joint Declaration

AU041610 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1551 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/11/1983 -- On November 4 in the afternoon, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mika Spiljak, president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, signed the Joint Romanian-Yugoslav Declaration during a ceremony in Bucharest.

Attending were Elena Ceausescu, Stefica Spiljak, other members of the Romanian party and state leadership as well as the Yugoslav officials accompanying the Yugoslav president on his visit to Romania.

Spiljak, Wife Leave Bucharest

AU041622 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1613 GMT 4 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/11/1983 -- The president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mika Spiljak, concluded in the afternoon of November 4 the official visit of friendship he paid to Romania over November 2-4 upon the invitation of RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mika Spiljak, Stefica Spiljak and the officials accompanying them were seen off by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu at the Bucharest-Baneasa Station where the official departure ceremony took place.

Joint Statement

AU071509 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Nov 83 pp 1-3

[Text of "Joint Reomanian-Yugoslav Declaration" on SFRY President Mika Spiljak's Official Visit to Romania.]

[Text] At the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Mika Spiljak, president of the SRFY Presidency and his wife paid an official family visit to Romania 2-4 Nov.

Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and persons in his entourage visited economic installations and social and cultural institutions in Bucharest and in the Prahova district. Everywhere the distinguised Yugoslav guests encountered a warm reception filled with the sentiments of respect and friendship the Romanian people have for the peoples of Yugoslavia.

In a cordial and friendly atmosphere and in the spirit of understanding and mutual respect, the SFRY Presidency president and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania carried out an exhaustive exchange of views on the development of bilateral cooperation and on the most important issues of international relations, and they informed each other about their countries' internal development.

Taking part in the talks between Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, were on the Yugoslav side: Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Milenko Bojanic, federal secretary for foreign trade; Milos Melovski, SFRY ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Romania; Zivojin Jazic, foreign policy advisor to the president of the Presidency; Vladimir Pavicevic, section head in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and Milan Marinkovic, consul at the SFRY Embassy in the Socialist Republic of Romania;

On the Romanian side: Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Alexandru Rosu, minister-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic cooperation; Constantin Mitea, advisor to the president of the Republic; Dumitru Popa, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the SFRY; and Lucian Petrescu, head of department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, declared with satisfaction that the friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Romania, the LCY and the RCP, and the peoples of the two countries are developing successfully in the spirit of good-neighborliness, mutual respect and trust and on the permanent bases laid down during the course of the numerous meetings between President Tito and President Ceausescu, and also in later meetings at the highest state and party level. These relations represent an example of cooperation beween two socialist, neighboring and friendly countries.

The stable and constant development of Yugoslav-Romanian relations and of the comprehensive good-neighborly coopertion is the result of consistent respect for and the application of the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, mutual consideration, mutual benefit and noninterference in internal affairs.

The two sides str ssed the great significance of the meetings held at the highest level to encourage the constant development of mutual relations and comprehensive cooperation in the bilateral and international sphere, in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

They again confirmed the significance they attach to the promotion and expansion of contacts and cooperation between the representatives of parliaments, governments, sociopolitical organizations, socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, districts, towns, work organizations and citizens of the two countries in all spheres of mutual interest. They agreed to continue to work for the expansion and deepening of this cooperation.

Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and President Nicolae Ceausescu devoted particular attention to the promotion of economic cooperation and to the increase in trade between the two countries.

They made a positive assessment of the efforts and actions taken in this direction by the governments of the two countries, by the mixed Yugoslav-Romanian Committee for Economic Cooperation and by other organs and economic organizations.

Emphasis was laid on the significance Yugoslav-Romanian cooperation in the construction and utilization of the Djerdap-1 and Djerdap-2 hydroelectirc and navigational systems has for both countries and further afield. Both sides stressed their interest in executing jointly agreed on measures aimed at speeding up construction of the Djerdap-2 system and increasing the capacities installed in both systems. The two sides pointed out the need for the competent organs and railroads of both countries to accelerate work on a study of the opportunities for building a railroad across the Djerdap-2 dam.

The two sides consider that under the unfavorable world economic conditions it is essential to make the greatest possible use of the favorable aspects of mutual cooperation which derive from the highly-developed nature of the two economies, the geographical proximity and the diversity of transport links between the two countries.

In this regard it is essential that the two governments, the mixed Yugoslav-Romanian Committee for Economic Cooperation and other economic organs should operate more dicisively to strengthen economic cooperation between the two countries by means of joint undertakings in various spheres for the development of joint production of new products, by means of which the technical level of the industries in both countries may be raised. Electronics, electrotechnics, machine-building, chemistry and petrochemicals are the industries singled out for cooperation. Important opportunities also exist in achieving cooperation in the sphere of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, non-metals and ferra-alloys, as well as geological surveys and oil and gas exploitation in the border zone.

The two sides reiterated the need for deals concerning industrial cooperation and specialization in production being included in the 5-year and long-term plans of the two countries' economic development, ensuring thus, as well as by other measures, the fulfillment of existing contracts and contributing at the same time to an increase in the interest of economic organizations for concluding fresh industrial cooperation deals.

The two presidents stressed the need to realize cooperation as envisaged by the protocol and the joint work program adopted at the 14th session of the mixed Yugoslav-Romanian Committee for Economic Cooperation.

Both sides agreed to act in the direction of the best possible use of the facilities provided by the existence of various transportation routes between the two countries so as to facilitate and encourage mutual trade and transit of goods. It was proposed that relevant organs of the two countries invest additonal efforts to improve cooperation in the spheres of rail, road, marine and river transport, bearing in mind also the significant potentials and the growing possibilities provided in this respect by the Danube River.

The two presidents stressed that the economic potential of the two countries made possible the realization of cooperation in third markets through the participation of interested organizations, in the joint construction of industrial installations, and in construction work and other services.

The significance of using barter deals, interbank credit arrangements and cooperation by banking and financial institutions to expand industrial cooperation and specialization, diversification and expansion of the exchange of goods and services and cooperation in ventures in third markets was underline.

The two presidents pointed out that possibilities exist to expand border area economic cooperation through diversifying the exchange of goods in border area trade and to implement more complex forms business cooperation and specialization.

The need was stressed to deepen the scientific-technical cooperation, particularly in the spheres and programs of research which could be speedily applied in production.

The two sides stated their interest in the promotion of bilateral cooperation, for the better use and complex protection of the waters of the Danube from pollution, and for cooperation among riparian Danube countries in this direction. In this connection they come out in favor of speeding up the preparations to convene a conference of riparian Danube countries to discuss the problems of cooperation in using and protecting the waters of the Danube from pollution and to unfold the process of reaching agreement which should ensure a more efficient protection of the quality of the Danube waters.

The two sides noted the results of the cooperation in the sphere of science, culture, education, information media, tourism and sport. They came out in favor of expanding and enriching the contents in these spheres, of expanding the dissemination of information to the public in the two countries in all aspects of life and socialist socioeconomic development in Yugoslavia and Romania, in order to better acquaint each country with the historical development and traditional friendly ties, material and spiritual values of the peoples of the two countries.

The two presidents assessed that the existence of national minorities, of the Serbian and Croatian minorities in the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian one in the SFRY, is the result of historical development and century-old neighborhoods.

The correct resolution of the national question in the two countries, the provision of unified rights and comprehensive development of nationalities, represents a significant factor in the socialist construction of the SFRY and of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and in the strengthening of friendly relations between them. The two sides believe that such a solution is also in the spirit of international norms adopted by the United Nations on the promotion and protection of the rights of national minorities.

By proceeding from the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs, the two presidents believe that the resolution of the question of nationality of the citizens of the countries concerned represents an internal affair of each country.

They also noted that the nationalities of the two neighoring countries should, to an even greater extend, be yet another factor in drawing closer together and of consolidating friendship between the Yugoslav and Romanian people.

The president of the SFRY Presidency and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania emphasized that the all-round development of Yugoslav-Romanian relations and their continual promotion and reinforcement reflect the high level of mutual understanding and trust, and coorespond to the vital interests of the peoples of the two neighboring socialist countries, to equal international cooperation, and to peace and stability in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world.

Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, carried out an exhaustive exchange of opinions on the present international situation. Identity or proximity of views by the two countries was manifested, and the relevance of the standpoints and evaluations in the join Yugoslav-Romanian Belgrade statement of 27 Oct 82 was reaffirmed. This is renewed confirmation of determination of Yugoslavia and Romania to strengthen cooperation on the international level regarding resolving the difficult problems confronting mankind, and in the interest of the peace and security of all states and people.

The president of the SFRY Presidency and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania expressed great concern at the dangerous deterioration of the political situation in the world and the exacerbation of contradictions in all spheres of international relations. They assessed that this is a consequence of the policy of force, domination and dictate, rivalry for spheres of influence and domination, the increasingly frequent resort to interventions and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the unbridled and dangerous arms race -- especially the nuclear arms race -- the failure to resolve the existing conflicts and crisis flashpoints, and the appearance of new ones in almost every part of the world, the deepening of the world economic crisis and of the abyss between the developing countries and the developed countries, and the failure to respect and denial of the peoples' right to self-determination and free development. All this undermines peaceful coexistence and represents a serious threat to the freedom and independence of peoples and to peace and security in the world.

The two sides emphasized that, at the same time, the peoples' struggle is strengthening to preserve peace, against war, and for freedom, security and general progress, through increasingly determined opposition to the policy of force, domination and subordination, to the arms race and to the increasing tension in the world, as well as through demands for the channels of international communication and agreement to be unblocked.

The two sides agreed that it is essential to bring about a substantive change in the outmoded system of unequal international economic and political relations, and underlined that it is now more than ever necessary for the efforts of the entire international community to be exerted in order to halt the further growth in international tension and to create conditions for a return to political detente and the broadest possible international cooperation. They agreed that the relations between states develop upon consistent respect for the principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of all countries, and the right of every people to make its own decision on the paths of its internal development without outside interference, and upon equal participation of all countries in resolving international problems.

It was stressed that the arms race in all its forms and in particular in nuclear arming and in creating other types of mass destruction weapons, along with the decreasing differences between nuclear and conventional weapons, which is assuming immense dimensions in the quantity and quality of weapons, represents a direct threat to peace and is becoming increasingly the means for maintaining the present unequal system of international relations and is one of the factors in keeping up crises and conflicts in various parts of the world.

The two sides believe that it is necessary to start without delay the solution of specific issues of disarmament, such as stopping the production and perfection of nuclear weapons, gradually reducing all arsenals until their complete liquidation, and banning tests of such weapons and their use. They stressed the need for the speediest start of comprehensive negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament, the banning of existing weapons for mass destruction, and the liquidation of chemical weapons, and they advocated measures to prevent nuclear war and war in general. The significance of banning the creating of new types of wespons for mass destruction, eliminating military bases and foreign troops from territories of other countries, reducing military expenditures, military forces and weapons, and of overcoming division into military blocs was stressed. The SFRY Presidency president and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania expressed concern about the presence, further stockpiling, spreading and developing of nuclear missile weapons and other mass destruction weapons in Europe, as well as the unprecedented accumulation of conventional weapons and armed forces on the continent, which directly threatens peace and security in Europe, and which makes economic, cultural and other types of cooperation between European countries difficult.

Both sides came out decisively for an end to the arms race, particularly of nuclear arms, on European soil, a halt to the deployment of new medium-range missiles, and the withdrawal and elimination of existing and the liquidation of all other nuclear weapons, which would contribute in the most immediate way to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. They consider that new efforts through negotiations which should take place in the spirit of cooperation and compromise could lead to a generally acceptable agreement in this area. In this connection they gave full support to all initiatives and proposals which would lead to halting the arms race through negotiations and the creation of conditions for the renewal of international detente, the strengthening of security and the continuation of the Helsinki process.

As European countries which have advocated and are continuing to call for security and cooperation in Europe, Yugoslavia and Romania expressed satisfaction with the results of the Madrid meeting, which showed that even in the present unfavorable international conditions complex international problems can be resolved through negotiations if there exists political readiness, a constructive approach, and desire for cooperation. The two presidents expressed their conviction that the successful completion of the Madrid meeting and agreement on the organization of future meetings which guarantee the continuation of the process begun in Helsinki offer bases for new efforts towards creating a climate of trust, negotiations, and relaxation. They agreed that the forthcoming conference on measures for strengthening confidence, security, and disarmament in Europe, can play a large role in creating conditions for the renewal of detente, which is in the vital interests of the peoples in Europe, and that to this end the two sides will cooperate in preparations and at the conference itself in Stockholm.

The president of the SFRY Presidency and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania again confirmed the determination of their countries to act in the direction of furthering the bilateral and multilateral cooperation of the Balkan countries on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, Sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs, which contributes to the strengthening of good-neighborly relations, peace, and security in the Balkans and in Europe. To this end the two countries support the efforts and proposals for the promotion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in the areas of the economy, science, technology, culture, education and tourism, as well as in other areas of common interest.

The Romanian side gladly supported Yugoslavia's initiative on organizing a meeting of experts from the Balkan countries in the area of industrial cooperation and specialization during 1984.

Within the framework of the struggle for universal detente and security, they came out in favor of creating and expanding zones of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear arms and the threat of the use of these weapons, or any use of force; they called for the creation of such zones in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, in various parts of Europe and in Europe as a whole.

The president of the SFRY and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania devoted great attention to the difficult economic situation in the world and to the increasingly acute problems of overcoming underdevelopment, as well as the need for establishing a new international economic order. They consider that the problems of world peace and security are very closely linked with problems of development, and that the present economic crisis which is affecting all countries and particularly the developing countries, represents a constant source of tension and general instability. Particular concern is caused by the policy of protectionism and discrimination, the increasing disproportion between the prices of raw materials and industrial products, the growth of the foreign debts of the developing countries, the policy of high interest rates, the reduction in aid programs and the restriction of possibilities for gaining access to modern technology.

The unfavorable state of the world economy, and in particular the difficult economic position of the developing countries, call for an immediate boost to the development of economic cooperation between the developed and developing countries on the principles of equality and equity, and with the aim of overcoming the present economic crisis, reviving the world economy, and renewing the economic progress of the developing countries. In this connection they underlined the need for opening up a process of global negotiations under the auspices of the UN as soon as possible.

The two sides noted the importance of the initiative to call an international conference devoted to monetary and financial questions of development.

They called for the implementation of a new international strategy for development in the third decade of development adopted by the UN General Assembly.

It was assessed that all countries, regardless of their size, social system, or degree of development, should act together in seeking solutions to the complex economic and social problems of the contemporary world in order to put international economic relations on a new, more equal basis and to establish a new international economic order.

Emphasis was placed on the link between disarmament and development and the need for resolving economic problems, particularly in the developing countries.

The two sides expressed their conviction that a special role in removing underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order should be played by economic cooperation between the developing countries and the strengthening of their solidarity and unity of action.

They emphasized the importance of the declaration of the ministers of Group 77 which was adopted in New York in October 1983 relating to the possibilities for further action at various levels, for resolving the problems with which the developing countries are faced, bearing in mind the jurisdiction of Group 77 in this respect.

The president of the SFRY Presidency and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania again emphasized their devotion to a peaceful solution of all problems and conflicts by means of negotiations on the bases of the principles of the UN Charter and other generally accepted principles and norms of international law. They came out decisively for the complete exclusion of the use of force or threat of force from international relations. These should be the basis for resolving the crises in the Middle East, South Africa, Southwest and Southeast Asia, in Central America and in all other parts of the world.

The two presidents considered with great concern the dangerous development of the situation in the Middle East. They agreed that a just and lasting peace in this area can only be achieved by a comprehensive solution which implies the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the guarantee of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to the creation of their own independent state, as well as the recognition of the rights of all states in the region to live in peace and security. On this occasion, too, they expressed support for and solidarity with the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

With the aim of resolving the situation in Lebanon, the two sides consider that it is necessary to do everything possible to consolidate the ceasefire, attain national reconciliation between all the political forces in Lebanon, the unconditional withdrawal above all of the Israeli troops from the country, and the guarantee of the independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and peace in Lebanon, which will have a positive effect on the general situation in the Middle East.

The two presidents expressed great concern at the armed intervention in independent and nonaligned Grenada, which is an impermissable action in international relations which can have serious negative consequences for peace and security in the region and further afield. They called for an urgent end to the military intervention, and the withdrawal of foreign troops so that the people of this country may decide on their own future without interference from outside.

The two sides underlined the need for a halt in the hostilities between Iraq and Iran and an urgent solution to this conflict by peaceful means, through negotiatons between the two countries, which is in the interests of the peoples of these two neighboring countries and of peace and stability in the region and further afield.

Support was again confirmed for the solution of the Cyprus problem by political means, by negotiations between the two communities which would guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the cooperation and peaceful coexistence of the two Cypriot communities.

Solidarity and active support for the stands and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful unification and independent development of Korea were again confirmed.

The two presidents called for the immediate guarantee of independence for Namibia and repeated their support for the libertion struggle of the peoples of this country under the leadership of SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the peoples of Namibia, and for efforts to achieve a political solution to the problem of Namibia on the basis of the Security Council Resolution No 435. They condemn the renewed aggression of the Republic of South Africa against Angola and other nonaligned African countries, and demand an urgent end to violations of the sovereignty of these countries.

The two sides emphasized the important role of the policy of nonalignment, as an independent nonbloc factor, in the promotion and strengthening of peace, security, independence, equality, equal cooperation, progress, and disarmament, in the democratization of international relations and in building a new system of political and economic relations in the world. They stessed the importance of the Seventh Summit Conference of the Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi for further strengthening the role of the nonaligned countries in solving international problems and ending the dangerous worsening of the international situation, and in renewing and developing detente.

They advocated the strengthening of the United Nations' role in consolidating peace, security, development, and equitable international cooperation, in the peaceful solution of disputes and conflicts between countries, and stressed the need for its further democratization and the improvement of the efficacy and work of its organs.

Proceeding from their interests and their identical or close standpoints on international issues, the president of the SFRY presidency and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania agreed to continue consultations and to develop cooperation between the two countries in the United Nations and other international organizations, in the Group of 77 and in the movement of nonaligned countries, with the aim of making a further contribution to the democratic and just solution of the most important problems of the modern world, and in the interest of peace, security and cooperation between all countries.

Mika Spiljak, president of the Presidnecy of the SFRY and Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, expressed full satisfaction with the talks and the results of the visit, and concluded that they represent a powerful manifestation of Yugoslav-Romanian friendship, and will give fresh stimulus to the expansion and reinforcement of all-round cooperation between the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Romania, between the LCY and the RCP, in the interest of the peoples of the two socialist countries.

Mika Spiljak, president of the SRFY presidency, invited Nicolae Causescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to make an official friendly visit to the SFRY. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Bucharest, 4 November 1983.

Mika Spiljak, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the RCP, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

OPREA MEETS SYRIAN PRESIDENT, PREMIER

AU041305 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2006 GMT 3 Nov 83

[Text] Damascus AGERPRES 3/11/1983 -- Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, co-chairman of the joint Romania-Syrian Governemntal Commission of Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation, now in Damascus to attend the fifth session of the commission, was received by Syria's president Hafiz al-Asad.

The interview occasioned an exchange of messages of friendship between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu and the Syrian head of state and Mme Anissse Asad.

During the talk conducted on the occasion, reference was made with special satisfaction to the fine relations of friendship abd close collaboration between Romania and Syria following the implementation of the decisions and understandings convenanted at top level which confer durability and perspective on the links between the two friendly countries. Emphasis was placed on the positive results scored in the development and deepening of the Romanian-Syrian commerical exchanges and economic and technical scientific collaboration, with emphasis on the possibilities of intensifying and diversifying them in industry, agriculture, energy and in other sectors of mutual concern.

Gheorghe Oprea was also received by Syrian Prime Minister 'Abd ar-Ra'uf al-Kasm.

A survey was made of the current stage of commerical exchanges and economic cooperation, with emphasis on the fact that the growing economic potential of the two countries as well as the fine experience acquired in the joint building of Syrian economic units conferred new dimensions on the cooperation between Romania and Syria. The two sides' determination was reiterated to further ensure a dynamic, ascending course of bilateral economic relations.

IRAQ'S RAMADAN TO VISIT 'FIRST HALF OF NOV'

AU071206 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0723 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 7/11/1983 -- Upon the invitation of Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, Taha Yasim Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq, will pay an official visit to Romania in the first half of November.

APPEAL FOR END TO ATTACKS ON PLO IN LEBANON

LD071905 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Regardless of what is or is not accurate, the situation in Lebanon is extremely worrying, Svetislav Vujovic, official representative of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, stated this afternoon.

[Unidentified speaker] It is with great concern and regret that we follow the armed attacks on the forces of the PLO in northern Lebanon. We consider these fraticidal clashes -- which can lead to the smashing of this organization, threaten the national Palestine struggle under the leadership of the legitimately elected leadership of the Palestinian people, and claim immense numbers of human lives -- as very dangerous. All this inflicts immense damage to the Palestinian and Arab struggle to gain the legitimate Arab rights.

It is time that the clashes stop and that a start be made on a peaceful solution to the controversial issues that have brought about such a development, along with respect for the need that the PLO should preserve the role of the independent factor in the resolution of the Middle East crisis and of the Palestinian question on internationally accepted foundations.

We appeal to Arab countries, in particular to Syria, to make their contribution in this direction, the official representative of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs stated to TANJUG.

SUNDIC DISCUSSES PLO RIFT, MOSCOW'S POSITION

LD071809 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Text] Our topical commentary deals with the events in Lebanon and around it. Milka Sundic is at the microphone.

[Sundic] As yet the Syrian Government has not rejected a single accusation made by Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO leader, which persistently reiterate, with irrefutable proof, that Syrian and Libyan troops are supporting and encouraging the dissident movement against 'Arafat's fighters in Lebanon. The latest announcement by the spokesman of the Fatah Central Committee, issued in Tunis, states, among other things, that the Syrian and Libyan regimes should bear the full responsibility for everything currently taking place in northern Lebanon, and for the massacres of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, which are compared with the massacre committed by the Israelis in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. In connection with the latest events in northern Lebanon, the Fatah Central Committee has sent urgent messages to Moscow and to the leaders of the Arab countries, proposing that an urgent meeting of foreign ministers should be held in order to restrain and stop the attacks on the position held by 'Arafat's units.

The governments of the Arab countries to which 'Arafat has turned for aid and support, support the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, but, to judge by all events, this will not affect the incomprehensible conduct of Syria and Libya. Both countries seek 'Arafat's dismissal and are ready to go right through to the end of sett'ing accounts with his supporters. The danger exists that the Arabs will not be in agreement this time, either, and that Syria and Libya will probably manage to destroy the PLO -- that is, the most militant part of Fatah, which is at the same time the most conscious of the fact that the Arab people of Palestine cannot fight for and win its independence according to others' recipes.

As far as is known, Yasir 'Arafat has received no reply at all to the communications he has sent to the Soviet leadership and to Yuriy Andropov in person. The reasons for this must be sought in the fact that it really is difficult for Moscow to come out openly in support of the standpoints of either Syria or Yasir 'Arafat. However, after a lengthy period of hesitation, the Moscow press has registered the PLO clashes without any mention of 'Arafat's letter to Yuriy Andropov. Yasir 'Arafat's letter could not be cited because it puts forward grave accusations against Syria, including the accusation that the Damascus regime, in collaboration with the United States, is trying to liquidate Yasir 'Arafat's supporters and the PLO. Otherwise, Moscow has so far not supported the dissident movement within the PLO -- at least not publicly -- nor has it in any way disputed the legality of 'Arafat's leadership in the movement.

It is hard to explain Syria and Libya's attitude to Fatah and 'Arafat personally, for the conduct of both countries objectively plays into the hands of those who oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state, especially those of Israel and the USA. It is particularly hard to understand and explain the present offensive against 'Arafat's supporters given the fact that with the presence of a strong American fleet in Lebanese waters and the Israeli threat, difficult days can be expected in that part of the world, which could represent a great danger for Syria itself.

TANJUG ON RECENT REMARKS ON UNITY, NATIONALISM

LD072357 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 7 Nov 83

["Yugoslavia: Unity" -- TANJUG headline; by Dusan Reljic]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 7 (TANJUG) -- "Is Yugoslavia threatened by disintegration?" a ranking Yugoslav official has asked and urged greater respect for the common interests of the six republics and the two autonomous provinces, which make up the Yugoslav federation.

The recent tenth plenum of the LCY Central Committee has been described in the press as a "plenum of the consolidation of the party ranks' unity".

At the session scheduled to deal primarily with the political and economic situation, the majority of participants in the debate highlighted the demand for consolidating the unity of the party, as a precondition for overcoming economic difficulties.

In a talk with newsmen recently, ranking party official Jure Bilic put forth the view that the source of nearly all difficulties in Yugoslavia should be sought in the two preceding five-year development plans, a period when the republics and the provinces had imposed their individual interests, often at the expense of the common interest. Bilic also warned that there were Communists who "flirted with nationalism". This was upheld by LCY Presidency Secretary Nikola Stojanovic who demanded at the plenum that nationalism be eradicated and "primarily, its roots existing in part in the party, itself".

LCY Presidency President Dragoslav Markovic stressed at the plenum that there was no disunity in the LCY ranks regarding the basic commitments, including commitment to the concepts of national equality within the Federation, the further development of self-management and the continuity of the country's independent and non-aligned foreign policy.

Markovic assessed, however, that there existed an oversensitiveness to the differences appearing in the process of developing common stands and noted that decisions were not being consistently implemented in all environments.

Markovic said that there was now a greater public access to the process of decision-making, including the adjustment of views through the elimination of differences, and said that a lack of public access in the past had created a "picture of monolithism".

The plenum participants adopted the proposal put forth by LCY Central Committee member Vuko Vukadinovic, and upheld by the public, that the party presidency keep the Central Committee informed about all questions on which differences in views exist among presidency members.

Press commentaries, which do not shrink from voicing criticisms, assess the tenth Central Committee plenum conclusions as forcefully insisting on the unity of the party ranks as indispensable for overcoming "the difficult and complex social and economic problems" in the country.

The party weekly KOMUNIST has, as part of the current discussion on unity, published the results of a poll conducted among metal workers. Of those polled, 45 percent maintain that the most important task is to "replace those who are not doing their duty" and 31 percent give precedence to the implementation of the long-term programme of economic stabilization.

The tenth Central Committee plenum primarily reaffirmed the principle of democratic centralism, that is, of unity in the implementation of democratically adopted conclusions. The degree of unity of the party ranks and of social integration countrywide will depend on the degree of respect for the principle of democratic centralism ensured by the party.

ALBANIAN REJECTION OF BALKANS MEETING REGRETTED

AU071216 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Nov 83

[Dragan Colovic commentary]

[Text] One of the priorities of Yugoslavia's foreign policy in the coming period will be the efforts to promote cooperation in the Balkans, including also the Mediterranean. Our country has recently expressed its support for the Greek Prime Minister Papandreou's initiative to hold a summit meeting of the Balkans countries and to discuss a denuclearization of the Balkans. These days it has also made the initiative that a meeting of representatives of the Balkan countries should be held in Belgrade in 1984 at which the opportunities and ways for developing and promoting a long-term economic cooperation would be investigated.

In this connection, here is a commentary by Dragan Colovic:

What is involved is Yugoslavia's desire to develop and nurture the best possible relations within the regional frameworks in the circumstances of an extraordinary tension in international relations on a global plane. What is involved is not only a more rational and pragmatic approach to foreign policy but also the efforts to contribute to the general aspirations for cooperation, peace, and security in this region by promoting cooperation in the Balkans and wider in the Mediterranean.

At the same time our desire is thus to remove conjectures and various suspicions that the Balkans and the Mediterranean are traditional and, accordingly, also potential hotbeds which, for this reason, must be under a constant international observation and influence, primarily by the great powers and blocs. Initiatives on the denuclearization of the Balkans and on furthering long-term economic cooperation in the peninsula are not being supported by all states. Albania, for instance, has refused to participate at the meeting discussing the Balkans as a non-nuclear zone. Of course, this is the matter of Albania and its government.

However, it is difficult to understand the attitude of Albanian leadership, which uses extremely unconvincing reasons to explain its absence from the aforementioned meeting. Namely, Albania believes that such a meeting is illusory, since four of the six Balkan countries belong to blocs and Yugoslavia is allegedly tied to both blocs.

Without discussing Albanian reasons for using untruths, such as the one about our allegedly being tied to both blocs, it is obvious that the Albanian government proceeds from the supposition that the blocs have been set once and for ever. Albanian leadership refuses to take into consideration the real changes happening within, between, and beyond the blocs. Besides, Albania refuses to cooperate with countries that belong to blocs, but also with others that are not in the blocs, although it is clear that such cooperation, provided it were based on equality, would be more useful than damaging to it. Furthering cooperation with bloc countries -- this is after all also a Yugoslav experience -- is not an obstacle, but a condition for better mutual understanding and respect and also for peace in the Balkans and beyond. As a nonaligned country, Yugoslavia is against bloc divisions, but proceeding from the modern world's reality, it tries to cooperate equally also with countries that belong to blocs, on the basis of the well-known principles, because it believes this contributes to progress and peace.

Considering the fact that Albania fails to accept the meeting on transforming the Balkans into a denuclearized zone, it would not be surprising if it also renounced our initiative for a meeting in Belgrade on furthering the long-term economic cooperation in the Balkans. However, even without Albania or any other country and irrespective of different international positions of individual countries, Balkan cooperation can be furthered if there is good will for this. And there is good will in most Balkan countries. It is not accidental that our people say: Good will is the best thing. Therefore, initiatives for the denuclearization of the Balkans and for furthering the long-term economic cooperation come as balm upon the wound in this difficult international situation. Putting it briefly, they are welcome because they serve peace and better understanding in a region which has always been considered a powder keg, and not without reason.

BOOK ON COMINFORMISTS DETENTION CAMP CRITICIZED

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[G.M. report]

[Text] Pula, 2 Nov -- On monday evening, the Presidum of the Communal Committee of the LC of Pula discussed the implementation of conclusions in connection with the publication of Stjepan Vukusic's book "Denied Leniencies" ["Uskracene Blagosti"] The book was published by the Istarska Naklada of Pula 2 years ago. The Pula Communists have condemned the publication of this book, which writes in an unacceptable way about Goli Otok [island concentration camp for Cominformists] and about the years following the adoption of the Cominform Resolution. The Presidium of the Communal Committee agreed that Stjepan Vukusic, author of the book, be given the ideopolitical measure of warning, and that reviewers of the book, Miroslav Bertos and Miroslav Sincic, be given the party measure of comradely criticism.

The Presidium of the Communal Committee of the LC of Pula has also requested that the responsibility of the Istarska Naklada publishers, or rather of the then chief editor Marij Kalcic and director Ivica Goricki, be examined.